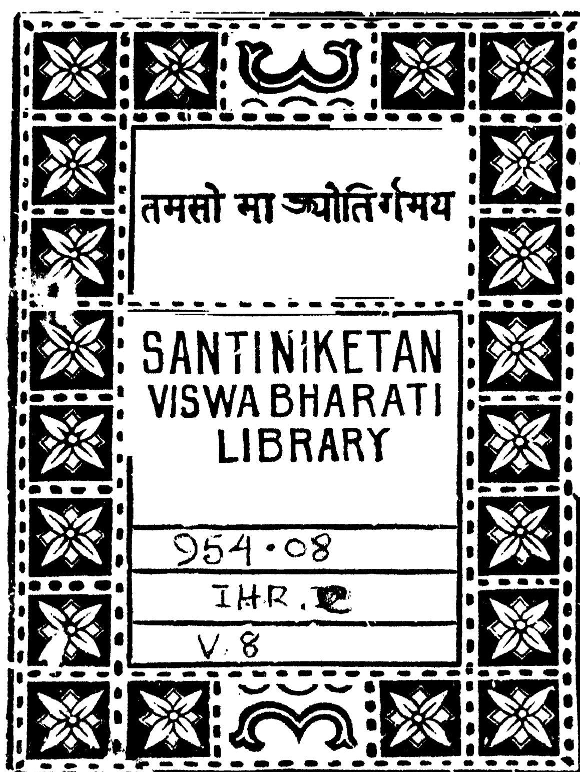

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INDIAN HISTORICAL RECORDS COMMISSION

PROCEEDINGS

OF

MEETINGS

VOL. VIII

EIGHTH MEETING HELD AT LAHORE

November 1925



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CONTENTS.

PAGE.

List of Illustrations.

INDIAN HISTORICAL RECORDS COMMISSION.

8TH SESSION, LAHORE.

November 1925.



Prof. Sita Ram Kohli, M.A. Mr. J. M. Mehta, B.A. (Baroda). Dr. Prabhu Dutt, Shastri, Ph.D. Mr. S. K. Mukerji. Mr. B. N. Banerji.

Major H. L. O. Garrett, I.E.S. Monsieur Singaravelou Pillai (Pondicherry). R. B. Pandit Sheo Narain. Mr. A. F. M. Abdul Ali, M.A. (Secy. to the Commission). The Hon'ble Mian Sir Fazl-i-Husain. H. E. Sir Malcolm Hailey, K.C.S.I., etc.

Sir Evan Cotton, C.I.E. Mr. J. J. Cotton, M.A., I.C.S. Mr. R. D. Mehta, C.I.E. Mr. A. C. Woolner, M.A. Mr. R. B. Ramsbotham, M.B.E. Prof. J. N. Samaddar (Patna).

Proceedings of the Eighth Session of the Indian Historical Records Commission held at Lahore on November 23rd & 24th, 1925.

The eighth meeting of the Indian Historical Records Commission was held at the University Hall, Lahore, on the 23rd November 1925. An Exhibition of documents, seals, coins, paintings and other objects of historical interest obtained from the Govt archives, public institutions and private individuals was also held in connection with the meeting. The proceedings were opened by His Excellency the Governor of the Punjab at 11 a.m. in the presence of a large and distinguished gathering. Mr R. B. Ewbank, C.I.E., I.C.S., officiating Secretary to the Govt of India, Dept of Education, Health and Lands and *ex-officio* President of the Commission, Professor L. F. Rushbrook Williams, M.A., C.B.E., Professor Jadunath Sarkar, M.A., I.E.S., Professor B. K. Thakore, B.A., members of the Commission and Mr J. A. Cesar, Keeper of the Records of the Government of Bengal and *ex-officio* member of the Commission, were unavoidably absent. Sir Evan Cotton, C.I.E., acted as chairman during the session.

The following members were present:—

1. Sir Evan Cotton, C.I.E.
2. Mr J. J. Cotton, M.A., I.C.S.
3. Mr R. B. Ramsbotham, M.A., M.B.E.
4. Mr A. F. M. Abdul Ali, F.R.S.L., M.A. (Secretary)

The following co-opted members were also present:—

1. Major H. L. O. Garrett, M.A., I.E.S.
2. Mr A. C. Woolner, M.A.
3. Mr J. R. Firth, M.A.
4. Rao Bahadur Pandit Sheo Narain
5. Prof Sitaram Kohli, M.A.
6. Mr J. M. Mehta, B.A. (Baroda)
7. Monsieur Singaravelou Pillai (Pondicherry)
8. Prof J. N. Samaddar (Patna)
9. Mr R. D. Mehta, C.I.E. (Calcutta)
10. Prof Prabhu Dutt Shastri, M.A., Ph. D., I.E S. (Calcutta)

Speech of His Excellency Sir Malcolm Hailey

In opening the proceedings His Excellency the Governor said:—

"I am delighted to renew the welcome which Sir Edward Maclagan gave to your Commission in 1920, though I fear that I cannot bring to your assistance that knowledge and skill in dealing with historical records which he possessed in so eminent a degree. But I can at least assure you that we have in the five years which have passed since he addressed you, made a serious effort to implement his promise that the Punjab would endeavour to

place its records in better order. We cannot, I fear, offer to the public material of the value of the Madras records, which go back to 1670, and are maintained in a Record office that dates from 1805, or of Bombay, whose Record office was built in 1821, and which has press-listed papers as early as 1648; or of Calcutta, whose records, dating from the beginning of British rule in Bengal, are said by experts to provide some of the best historical material in the world. Our earliest vernacular records of any value or importance are those known as the Dinanath papers relating to the period of the Maharaja Ranjit Singh; our oldest British records date from 1808-1849, and consist of manuscript volumes of the Delhi, Ambala and Ludhiana Agencies. But such material as we possess, has now been placed in a fitting setting in the romantic Tomb of Anarkali; they have been rendered accessible to the public and the student; and the process of cataloguing and press-listing has been steadily pursued under the industrious and devoted care of our Record Keeper, Mr. H. L. O. Garrett, and his able assistant, Munshi Sardar Khan. The study of these papers has already enabled Mr Garrett to give to the public many fresh sidelights on the adventures of the men who have borne a part in the troubled and somewhat chaotic history of the later Sikh monarchy, and I believe that a fuller and more detailed memoir is now in course of issue by him, with the assistance of Mr Grey.

And now let me turn for an instant from the Record Room itself, and speaking, if I may do so, to a wider public, command to the Punjab student the fascinating field of investigation offered by the study of historical records. I do not know if what I am about to say can necessarily be applied with greater justice to India than to other countries, but it certainly appears to me that there is everything to be gained in this country from directing the minds of students to the actual documents and remains, whether in stone or metal, which give the most definite date on which history is based. There is no finer training in the analysis of evidence; and in India particularly does it seem to me necessary to encourage a mental attitude which makes for a critical discrimination between the tested fact and the readily assumed belief. There is in the daily life of the country a somewhat embarrassing tendency to take statements at second-hand, and to accept as verities propositions or indeed expressions of fact which often rest on a foundation that would dissolve on the simplest analysis. That is a general consideration of somewhat wide import; but there is another of even greater interest and more particular application. I feel that the Punjab knows all too little about its own history. True, the elements which have been built up into the Punjab of to-day are very diverse in origin and almost kaleidoscopic in their development; and it may be that sound material is wanting on which to base a reliable record of the origin of many of our great tribes and families, or the strata of history which underlie many of our cities. As we know from the late discoveries at Harappa, the process of physical change in the Punjab has itself produced results which add appreciably to the difficulties of the enquirer. But the search for such material and the ascertainment of such facts

as are within our grasp would offer an absorbing field to the student. I notice in the proceedings of the Commission at Delhi in 1922, an interesting study of the Jats by Mr Qanungo. With all deference, I suggest that even that systematic study does not say the last word on the subject; but with confidence I can say that there are many others of our tribes, the history of which would form an equally interesting study. We know all too little in fact, though much in tradition or in fable, of the history of the Ghakars, the Ghebas, the Sials, the Arians, the Janjuas, the Bhattis, and Kharas, and the Awans. What certain knowledge have we of the various elements which comprise those tribes of the Western Punjab, which claim to trace their origin to Sindh, or the numerous residents of the Eastern Punjab, to whom tradition gives a birthplace in Rajputana? What more engaging study can history offer than the long genealogies of our Rajput families of the Himálayas? In spite of all that has been written in Gazetteers and Census reports, fact and fable, tradition and true record still remain inextricably mixed. I do not ask necessarily for that cold and rigid statement of fact which disregards the romance of tradition and discounts the charm of fable. All I suggest is an investigation which should give each element its true value, and thus afford a foundation for real history.

Now, I am well aware that the student would find no such material in our Record room, but I do not see why the purpose and scope of our Punjab Record Room should not be extended. I should like an invitation given to all those who possess historical documents of any value, or family papers of real importance, to allow us to place copies among our records. I have seen numerous Sanads of Moghul or post-Moghul periods; I would not ask that their possession should be handed over to us; but at least we might be allowed to take photograph of them. I have seen genealogical trees of very considerable antiquity; may be they are not all genuine; but if we had copies of them, they would at least form material which historians could winnow and sift. I say with confidence that if we could make our Record Office something more than a repository of State papers and official archives; if in its extension it could embrace records of family and tribal history, and documents which has had a place in the lives of the people of the Punjab themselves, then, I think, it would have a new and more vital function, and make an appeal to the Legislature and the public, which would ensure that it would not be deprived of the finance necessary to its upkeep and its development. After all, good though a Government may be, a people is naturally and inevitably more interested in itself than in its Government.

These may be dreams of the future, though I do not think they are impossible of attainment. But for the moment I must not detain you from the serious discussions you have set before yourselves. The field covered by your agenda is wide; but it contains items of peculiar interest to the Punjab, and I know that I can assure you of the very wide interest with which they will be followed in this province."

Sir Evan Cotton's reply

Sir Evan Cotton said:—

" Your Excellency, Ladies and Gentlemen,

The *ex-officio* President of the Indian Historical Records Commission is Mr Ewbank, the Secretary to the Government of India in the Education Department. He is unfortunately not able to be present and therefore it falls to my lot, on his behalf, to thank Your Excellency very warmly for the cordial reception which you have given to the Commission and further for the helpful and valuable speech to which we have just listened. As Your Excellency has said, this is not the first time that the Commission has met in Lahore. It met five years ago under the presidency of Sir Edward Maclagan, and we felt ourselves fortunate then to have the pleasure of being addressed by a Governor who was also a scholar. To-day, Sir, we have again the privilege of being addressed by a Governor, who inspite of what Your Excellency has said, we all recognise as a scholar. Apart from all else we know of the work done by Your Excellency when Chief Commissioner of Delhi in restoring the Mughal rooms in the Fort and the Museum. It is a source of real delight to the members of a Commission, such as this, to feel that the ruler of a Province in which we are meeting is not only interested in the work of preservation and publication of historical records but is also qualified by his position and attainments to advise and to suggest to the Commission the direction in which their work should proceed.

Now, this is the fourth session of the Commission over which I have presided and as it is very likely to be the last, I think that the members of the public in Lahore and elsewhere may care to become acquainted with the manner in which certainly during the time that I have been connected with the Commission, together with Mr Abdul Ali as the Secretary, we have discharged our duties. I can assure you, Sir, that a very great deal of progress is being made all over India with regard to the cataloguing and the classification of the various historical records, and one specially gratifying feature has been the interest which has been aroused among the Chiefs in the matter of examining their own State records which I need hardly say are very often of the utmost historical value. There are some who think that historical records are merely a bundle of wastepaper. I hear stories of bonfires in various places of historical records; and I trust that such incidents will never be repeated. A historical document which one man may think valueless, may be of the greatest interest to another. The responsibility therefore is great of him who decides that such and such paper is of no historical value and should be destroyed. Naturally there are papers in record rooms with regard to which there will be a general consensus of opinion. The medical certificate of an individual who is allowed to proceed on leave from India on the ground that he was suffering from chronic hepatitis is a document which need not be preserved. Nevertheless, you never can be too careful in your examination of historical records. In January last the Commission met at Poona and there we undertook the examination of a large mass of papers called the Peshwas' Daftar, and as we examined the various papers included in it,

we were astonished to see that documents of utmost historical importance and valuable revenue papers were mixed up with pieces of wastepaper and scraps of no value. The lesson that we learned there was that every paper in a bundle should be scrutinized in order to decide upon their respective merits.

In the various parts of India, Provincial Governments are undertaking the work of cataloguing and publication of classified lists in their Journals. This is admirable work but when we come to Lahore we feel like coming to one of the model centres of historical research in India. The Governor is interested in the work, there is an admirable Record Keeper, a record room housed in the historic building once occupied by General Ventura, in the days of Ranjit Singh and thereafter by John and Henry Lawrence. Here, as His Excellency has said, are documents of the utmost importance and the task of arranging and cataloguing these documents is as necessary as it is elsewhere, if not so laborious as the period from which they date is comparatively recent. It is impossible to think of the way in which the work is being done in Lahore without carrying one's memory back to the letter which the Commission once received from a Provincial Government in which we were told that there certainly were numerous documents of great historical value in their Record Room but that they were all lying on the floor and it was quite possible that the white ants might have got at them.

We are very grateful, indeed, to Your Excellency that you have found time to open this Commission and we assure you, Sir, that your presence is a great encouragement to us.''

After His Excellency retired Sir Evan Cotton was voted to the Chair. A vote of condolence, expressing regret at the death of Her Majesty Queen Alexandra, proposed from the chair, was carried unanimously, the audience standing in solemn silence. A number of papers on historical subjects or their summaries were than read. The meeting lasted till 4 p.m.

The Exhibition which was organized in connection with the Lahore session of the Commission was informally opened in the evening by His Excellency the Governor of the Punjab in the presence of a representative gathering of ladies and gentlemen including Lady Cotton, Mrs. Ramsbotham, Sir Mahomed Shafi and Sir Fazl-i-Husain. The exhibits included a number of historical records, interesting manuscripts in Arabic, Persian and Urdu, seals, sanads, coins and paintings. The exhibits of the Imperial Record Department attracted much attention. A panorama of the City of Lahore painted in water colour in 1844, and an old Persian map of the Grand Trunk Road from Delhi to Kandahar exhibited by the Imperial Library of Calcutta proved of great interest to the Lahore public. To Major H. L. O. Garrett, M.A., I.E.S., and Lala Sitaram Kohli, M.A., belong the credit of collecting a number of very interesting exhibits from Kapurthala, Jhang, the Punjab University and the D. A. V. College Libraries. A complete list of the exhibits will be found in the Appendix.

The members' meeting was held at the Punjab Record Office on the 24th November 1925 at 11 a.m. In the afternoon the members of the Commission visited various places of historic interest at Lahore.

The Journals of Archibald Swinton.

(By Sir Evan Cotton, C.I.E.)

In the highly appreciative review of the Calcutta Historical Society and its work, which appeared in "The Times Literary Supplement" for September 18, 1924[1], mention was made of the memoirs of Captain Archibald Swinton, which were privately printed in 1908 by Mr. and Mrs. J. L. Campbell Swinton of Kimmerghame (in Berwickshire). I have been able, through the kindness of Captain G. S. C. Swinton, L.C.C., to obtain a copy of the volume and have received permission to make extracts. Captain Swinton is the grandson of John Swinton, the eldest son of Archibald Swinton.

The year of Archibald Swinton's birth is given as 1731. He was the fourth son of John Swinton of Swinton in Peebles-shire by Mary Semple, and had eleven brothers and sisters. After studying surgery at Edinburgh, he engaged at the age of twenty as surgeon's mate on an East Indiaman. The journey from Edinburgh to London by road took him ten days—from December 11 to December 20, 1751. On Wednesday, January 8, 1752, he "fell down the river" and eight days later sailed from the Downs. On March 29 the ship touched at the Cape. The voyage was resumed on April 10, and Madras Roads were reached on June 10. Six weeks after he went ashore he volunteered to join Clive who was undertaking the campaign in the Carnatic which was signalized by the taking of Arcot and Conjeveram. There was, writes Swinton, "a great Tomashy on my apprenticeship being ended."

On August 28, 1752, Clive left Fort Saint George with his little force of 200 Europeans, 300 sepoys, and eight officers, of whom six had never before been in action, and captured Arcot three days later. Subsequent events are thus recorded by Swinton in his journal:—

25th January, 1753	Went to Arcot.
21st April	Wounded.
14th July, 1754	Went from Arcot to Madrass.
22nd July	Went from Madrass to Chingleput.
20th October	Rode from Chingleput to Madrass (a distance of sixty miles) in the space of 4 hours and gained 2,600 rupees.

[1] Reproduced, by permission, in *Bengal: Past and Present*, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 121 to



ARCHIBALD SWINTON, HIS WIFE AND SON.

(Reproduced by kind permission of the Calcutta Historical Society).

3rd November, 1755 . . . **Left Chingleput, and quitted the Company's Service.**

8th March, 1756 . . . Was again engaged in ye service.

15th March . . . . Imbarked for the Negrais and arrived 12th August.

Ships had been despatched from Madras to the assistance of the little English Settlement on Negrais island at the extreme south end of Arakan, which had been established about the year 1751. The kingdom of Ava, of which the place formed a part, was in dispute between the "Peguers" and the Burmans. The English had sided first with the one and then with the other. A powerful Burmese fleet was now assembled on the coast, and this was attacked by the English ships which forced the crews to take refuge in the groves on shore. Some days later ammunition was exhausted and the English, with their French allies and the "Peguers," retired to Syriam, six miles East of Rangoon, at the junction of the Pegu and Rangoon rivers, where there was also an English factory[2]. Negotiations followed, and battles by land and skirmishes by sea. There was a massacre of the English factors at Negrais[3], the survivors swimming wounded to the ships; and the English fleet sailed up the river towards Ava, only to be seized there. It is uncertain how long Swinton, who was serving as surgeon's mate or surgeon, remained to take part in these events: but it would appear that he accompanied Lieutenant Lister on a mission to Ava in July, 1757, for he preserved a manuscript account of the expedition, written by Lister.

In 1759 he was on board the *Hardwicke* Indiaman, when she anchored on October 6 in the road of Ganjam, in the Northern Circars.[4] France and England being at war, the Captain hoisted Dutch colours, and with a pretended

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[2] *Cf.* the petition presented by Edward Fleetwood to the King of Burmah at Ava in 1695 (quoted in Dalrymple's Oriental Repository, 2 vols. (4°), 1808). The prayer is made therein "that the old House and Ground at Syriam, formerly belonging to the English Company, may still be continued to them." In 1727 Alexander Hamilton describes "the Bar of Syriam" as "the only port now open for Trade in all the Pegu Dominions." Ralph Fitch visited Syriam, which he calls Cirion, in 1587, and Father Andrew Boves, S. J., in 1600. Very little is known of the history of this English factory.

[3] *Cf.* Letter of February 19, 1763, in the Fort William Consultations: "It gives us pleasure to observe that the King of the Burmahs, who caused our people at Negrais to be so cruelly massacred, is since dead, and succeeded by his son, who seems to be of a more friendly and humane disposition."

[4] The *Hardwicke*, with three other Indiaman, the *Ilchester*, the *Thames*, and the *Worcester*, sailed from the mouth of the Hooghly for the Northern Circars on October 5, 1758, with Colonel Francis Forde and a detachment of troops on board, and reached Vizagapatam on October 20. Conflans, the French General, was defeated on December 7 at the battle of Condore (or Peddapore), and Rajahmundry was occupied on December 8. Thirty seamen from the *Hardwicke* took part in the capture of Masulipatam which fell on April 7, 1759, after twenty-nine days' siege. Swinton must have participated in these operations but there is no mention of them in the papers.

tale of want of provisions slipped up under the French Fort. They received by a catamaran a note from Monsieur Moracin, the commandant, demanding the name of the ship and whence she came. In reply, Captain Brook Samson sent a letter in which he says:—" As I have now obtained all the intelligence I think necessary (pardon therefore the means used for it), it is needless further to conceal what I really am, and for what purpose I come. Know then that the ship is the English *Hardwick*, that about a month ago, Colonel Clive received a letter from Narraindoo[5] by a Harker[6] informing him of your being in the country, and proposing if he would send a party of Sepoys and Europeans down to Ganjam he would join them to his forces and cut off your party. The troops I have aboard with an answer to Narraindoo but am willing before going to extremities to put it in your power to give a termination to our Expedition, more agreeable to you as well as to us."

An amicable arrangement not having been effected, a Harkar with a letter and one sepoy was sent to Narraindoo, " the Native Power ", and Swinton went ashore in the jolly boat to take soundings. The letter, of which there is a copy in the Swinton papers, says that the ship " was sent from Bengal by Colonel Clive," and asks Narraindoo to " concert measures to ridd us both of our common enemy." Narraindoo answers: " We have seen your ship eight days, and knew not it was English. We understood from Calcutta that your ship was to be sent, and are overjoyed to see you. If you will send some Europeans and sepoys and four guns ashore, we will immediately engage the enemy."

Next evening Swinton went ashore again about nine o'clock and was conducted to a village about five miles distant, where he stayed until the Rajah should be informed of his arrival. The messenger returned about three in the morning with a horse and palanquin, which the Rajah had sent together with an escort of one hundred Sepoys, requesting that he would set out immediately, and he would come to meet him. Swinton set out accordingly and met the Rajah, before day-break, near the camp of " Pallar his Dewanzer "[7] which " is about five miles from the above village, his own camp being about three miles beyond that." The Rajah received him with great civility; earnestly pressed him to bring ashore some troops to his assistance, and offered him the command of his army. Swinton spent the day in reconnoitring the Fort, and inspecting the Rajah's troops. There were only fifty Sepoys and fifteen volunteers aboard the *Hardwicke* besides the ship's crew.

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[5] Anandraz, the Rajah of Vizianagram: " the worst enemy of the French in the Chicacole Circar " (Maltby's Ganjam District Manual, 1882).

[6] Hirkarrah, hurkaru: messenger.

[7] Query: dewanji. The transcription is defective.

The Rajah proceeded to surround the fort, so that the French could not go beyond a radius of two miles. Those on the ship, meanwhile, began to grow anxious, as the following record will show:—

[October] 13th.—No appearance of Mr. Swinton.

14th.—Heard a report of three or four guns, and soon after observed a body of horse and some foot on the top of a hill near the Fort. Could distinguish Mr. Swinton by his red cloaths. As we imagined, the Rajah or some of his great people were with him. Mr. Samson saluted him with eleven guns, and sent his boat ashore. Mr. Swinton returned in her about three in the afternoon.

15th.—A letter came from the Rajah asking Mr. Swinton to come ashore to determine what to do. Mr. Swinton, and Mr. Samson went ashore. The Rajah offered, if Colonel Clive would make an alliance with him, he would deliver up Ganjam, Calingapatam, Maphisbunder, and Sunapore[8], but after Mr. Swinton spends all night reconnoitring the Fort, Mr. Samson comes to the conclusion we have not enough men to attack it, so wrote accordingly to the Rajah; promises to acquaint Colonel Clive with the situation, and says he was obliged to sail for Calcutta, and he sends a Harcar to Colonel Ford letting him know how affairs are.

News had been received of trouble with the Dutch, and the *Hardwicke* made all possible speed for the Hooghly. Swinton preserved among his papers the following account of the events which led to Ford's victory on November 25, 1759, at Biderra or Badara, a village midway between Chandernagore and Chinsurah. Although the name of the battle is almost forgotten, it deserves to be reckoned among the decisive battles of British Indian history, for it eliminated the Dutch as a factor in "country" politics. Ford and Randfurlie Knox had arrived in Bengal before Swinton, fresh from the defeat of Conflans at Condore (December 7, 1758) and the capture of Rajahmundry and Masulipatam (December 8, 1758, and April 8, 1759).

* * * * *

NARRATIVE OF THE DISPUTES SUBSISTING BETWEEN THE DUTCH AND ENGLISH IN BENGAL IN NOVEMBER 1759.

"Early in August we received advice that a powerful Armament was fitting out & embarking. Destined as was rumour'd for Bengal. On represen-

[8] *Maphizbunder* or Mahfuzbandar, is the Muhammadan name for the town of Chicacole, in the Ganjam district.

Sunapore, or Sonapore, is a port in the Ganjam district, fourteen miles south of Berhampore. It was in 1768 the principal shipping place of the Ichapur province: but is now of little or no importance.

tation of this by the Governor the Nabob sent a Perwannah to the Dutch prohibiting them from bringing Troops into Bengal. Soon after one of their ships arrived in the River with European Troops & Buggosis[9] on board. On this the Nabob sent a second Perwannah & order'd Omar Beg Cawn, Fouzdar of Houghly, to join the Govr. with a body of Troops. Early in October the Nabob Jaffier Aly Cawn arrived at Calcutta on a visit to the Govr. During his stay six or seven more Dutch capital ships crammed with soldiers and baggage arrived in the river and now the Dutch mask fell off. The Nabob left Calcutta the 19th Octr. We as Allies of the Nabob and under his colours, had on the arrival of the first ship stopt & searched their Boats coming up the River & finding 18 Buggoses conceal'd in one of them, sent them back to their ships. Now the Dutch themselves openly commenced Hostilities by attacking with shott and seizing seven of our vessels (amongst which was the *Leopard* snow, Capt. Barclay) & tore down our colors. On this we concluded with the greatest probability that the Dutch had received intelligence of a Rupture between them and us in Europe, or that they were sure of the Nabob's joining them, or of his standing neuter at least. Wrote to the Nabob that now we considered the quarrel as subsisting between the Dutch and us *only* desired that he would leave chastising them to us, and Desist from sending his son, or any part of his Army to our assistance.

"Our whole force then consisted of 240 Europeans of the Battalion (of whom ... were Topazes) about 80 of the Train & 1,200 Sepoys, besides ... Militia & ... Gentlemen volunteers form'd into an independent Company[10].

"On the 19th Novr. Col. Ford march'd to the Northward; with part of these & cross'd the Ganges above Barnagore, Capt. Knox being at Tanna's Fort & Channoc's Battery with the remainder, and a few of Omar Beg's Troops. Mr. Holwell was order'd to take charge of Fort William with the Militia, consisting of 250 Europeans besides some of the Portuguese inhabitants.

"Col. Ford cross'd over the River Ganges to Syrampore a Danish Factory with his Troops and four pieces of Feld Artillery & marched towards Chandernagore.

"On the 22nd Novr. the Dutch landed about 700 Europs. & 800 Buggoses. Capt. Knox and the Parties at the Batteries were immediately order'd to join Col. Ford which they did at midnight near Syrampore.

"On the 23rd Orders were sent to our Commodore, Captain Wilson, to demand immediate restitution of our ships, Subjects and property or to fight, sink, burn & destroy the Dutch ships on their refusal; the next day the demand

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[9] Buggosis, buggoses, or bugis—sepoys recruited in the islands of the Malay Archipelago: orig. the name of a tribe in Celebes.

[10] All these figures are left unfilled in the Ms.

was made and refused. True British spirit was manifested on this occasion, notwithstanding the inequality, the Dutch having seven to three (and four of them capital ships), we attacked them and after about two hours engagement the Dutch Commodore struck & the rest followed the example, except his Second who cut & ran down as low as Culpee when she was stopped short by the *Oxford* & *Royal George* which arrived two days before and had our orders to join the other Captains. The Dutch Comr. had about 30 men killed and as many wounded, she suffer'd the most amongst them, as did the *Duke of Dorset* on our side, who was more immediately engaged with her.

"On the same day, the 24th, Col. Ford march'd from the French Gardens to the Northward intending to encamp between Chandernagore & Chinsura. In his march thro' the former he was attack'd by the Dutch with four pieces of cannon & the Garrison from Chinsura which had march'd out & lodged themselves in the houses & ruins of Chandernagore at the very time the Colonel entered with his Troops at the Southern most end (N. B.—Spears brought the alarm to Ghyratty). However he soon dislodged them from their Ambush, took their cannon & pursued them with some slaughter to the very barriers of Chinsura—then encamp'd on the Glacis of Chandernagore, and having certain intelligence in the night of the near approach of the Dutch Troops from the ships[11] who had been in spite of his vigilance join'd by part of the Garrison from Chinsura, he march'd at break of day about 7 o'clock (after causing the men to load and fix their bayonets on the parade) with two field pieces and (in less than half an hour) met them in full march for Chinsura, which was little more than two miles distant. We immediately filed to the fight & they to the left & form'd our lines within 70 yards of each other; in a very few minutes we were both form'd and came to action.

"The Dutch were commanded by Col. Roussel, a French soldier of fortune. They consisted of nearly 700 Europeans and as many Buggoses, besides country troops. Ours of 240 Infantry (... of which Topazes), 80 of the Train and 50 more Europeans composing the Troop of Horse, Independents & Volunteers, & about 800 Sepoys. The engagement was short, bloody, and decisive; the Dutch were put to a total Rout in less than half an hour. They had about 120 Europeans and 100 Buggoses kill'd, 350 Europeans & about 200 buggoses taken prisoner with Monsiur Roussell and 14 officers and about 150 wounded; our

[11] "On the same evening Forde learned that the Dutch army would come up with him in the morning and wrote to Clive for instructions, being apprehensive of prosecuting hostilities against a nation with which England was at peace, and whose force was superior to his own. Clive, who had already taken his resolution and was prepared to assume responsibility for it, was playing whist when the letter reached him. He put down his cards and without leaving the table wrote on the back of the letter: "Dear Forde.—Fight them immediately I will send you the order in Council to-morrow." Then, collecting his cards again, he went on with the game." Fortescue, History of the British Army, Vol. II, p. 470. The Europeans with Forde were the precursors of the 1st Bengal Europeans who later became the 101st Foot and the 1st battalion of the Royal Munster Fusiliers.

loss inconsiderable. The Dutch were now as abject in their submissions as they had been insolent on their supposed superiority. They disavowed the proceedings of their ships below, acknowledged themselves the aggressors, & agreed to pay costs and damages, on which their ships were delivered up to them.

" Three days after the Battle of Bederra the young Nabob with about 6 or 7,000 horse arrived. Thus ended an affair which had the event been different threatened us in its consequences with utter destruction, for had the Dutch gained the same advantage over us, we have now the most convincing Proofs to conclude the remembrance of Amboyna[12] would have been lost in their treatment of this Colony.

" Mr. Bisdom was in a dying condition during the whole transaction, and opposed jointly with Messrs Quydland and Bacheracht the violence of their proceedings, but they were over ruled by the rest of their Council, led by Messrs. Vernet and Schivechaven, two men of desperate fortunes and violent and evil principles, who we doubt not will pay severely for their impudence."

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Swinton by this time returned to military service and had been appointed an ensign in the company's army. He must have been at Biderra, for a fragment of his journal has survived which commences on December 27, 1759, a month after the battle, and which shows that he was then with Forde and Knox at the beginning of their campaign against the Shahzada Shah Alam. On January 9, 1760 Major Caillaud[13] took over the command at " Ghysabad " above Cossimbazar and the army marched forward until February 11, when it " passed Baglypore " (Bhaugulpur) and received the news from Patna of Ram Narayan's victory over the Shahzada. On February 18 a halt was made at Barh, where another messenger from Patna reported that the Shahzada was encamped at " Raunah Seray." The camp was attacked on February 22, with complete success, the action lasting from " 12 A.M. till 3 " and 17 pieces of cannon were taken. Caillaud pursued his journey to Patna where he arrived on February 26.

The entries in the journal continue to give details of marches and counter-marches until July 29, 1760, when Swinton and the rest of the force find them-

[12] The reference is to the massacre of Amboyna in 1636, when a number of English man and Japanese were cruelly tortured to death by the Dutch. It was not until thirty-one years later that Cromwell was able to exact an indemnity.

[13] Caillaud returned to England in 1767 and died in 1812. Cf. *Gentleman's Magazine*: " Deaths.—1812 December 27: At Aston-house—Oxon in his 88th year General John Caillaud of the East India Service. An indulgent husband, sincere friend, and pious christian. His loss will be severely felt by the poor in that neighbourhood for his benevolence."

selves once more at Patna. Major John Carnac[14] now assumed the command, Caillaud reverting to Madras. A gap follows until November 1760, and the journal is not resumed until the following November (1761). But there is an account by Swinton himself of the "battle of Gaiah" which was fought on January 15, 1761, and another by Lieutenant Gilbert Ironside[15] in the form of a letter written on loose sheets of paper.

Archibald Swinton's account of the battle of Gaiah.

Major Carnac, as soon as he took command of the Army at Patna, marched in quest of the Shah Zadah, whose Army had wintered in the heart of the Baher province unmolested. He came up with him on the 15th of January 1761, and gained a complete victory without the least assistance from Cossim Ali Cawn, the new Nabob. On the contrary, his forces, astonished and discontented at the revolution, at first refused to march from Patna, but finding Major Carnac was determined to act against the Shah Zadah independently of them, they followed him reluctantly, but never were of the least utility to him in the Action, and he had more to dread from their treachery—they being in his rear—than from the enemy he was about to engage. The happy success attending this enterprize kept them to their duty, and was the means of establishing the tranquility of the three provinces.

Mr. Law, with most of his party of Frenchmen, were taken prisoners, and the Shah Zadah was so closely pursued that he found himself reduced to the necessity either of abandoning his Army and quitting the Provinces with a few followers, or of trusting to the Major's generosity by putting himself in his power. He chose to risk the latter, and desired that a gentleman might be sent to inform him in what manner he would be treated. The Major was pleased to send me, and according to my instructions, I assured his Majesty that he might depend on being received and entertained with all possible deference and respect, and that the Major would consider his life and honour as

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[14] Carnac entered the Company's service in 1758 as a Captain from Adlercron's regiment (the 39th Foot) and accompanied Clive to England in 1767. He returned to India as member of Council at Bombay in 1776, but was dismissed the service in 1779 for his share in the convention of Wargaum and died at Mangalore on November 9, 1800, at the age of 84. There is a characteristic allusion to him by Clive in the Fort William consultations for January 29, 1766: "I perfectly well remember having said that it would not be amiss for General Carnac to have a man with a Goglet of water ready to pour on his head, whenever he should begin to grow warm in debate." Reynold's portrait of his second wife, Eliza Rivett, is in the Tate Gallery.

[15] *Gilbert Ironside*—cadet 1758: Ensign December 14, 1758: Lieutenant September 19, 1759: Captain October 13, 1763: Major May 1, 1766: Lieutenant-Colonel April 2, 1768: Colonel September 21, 1774. He married Lactitia Roberts in Calcutta on May 13, 1765. Grand in his *Narrative* describes him as "the celebrated martinet." In a letter dated November 7, 1779, "camp at Dalmow," Brigadier Giles Stibbert reports that Major William Hessman has been killed in a duel by Colonel Gilbert Ironside. In 1764 Ironside raised at Calcutta the 14th Bengal Infantry which was known after him as the Ranseet-ki-pultan. He communicated to the Asiatic Annual Register in 1800 an account of the campaigns of 1760 and 1761.

his own. On these assurances he determined to submit to the Major, and taking a moderate but splendid retinue with him, ordered me to conduct him to the English camp. So extraordinary a sight as the Emperor of Hindostan,[16] for he was even then universally considered as such, throwing himself upon the protection of an English Army with whom he had but a few days before engaged in the field, filled the breast of every one with such admiration and delight that I am persuaded there was not a private soldier or sepoy in our Army who would not have risked his life in his defence, and fought for him with more zeal and fidelity than his own troops.

Major Carnac, whose heart is all sensibility, received him in the kindest and most respectful manner, and could hardly refrain from tears. Nazars were presented to him by the General and other officers, and after a short visit he returned highly pleased to his own Army, which was but a few miles off.

Next day both Armies marched near each other, as was concerted, towards Patna.

ANOTHER ACCOUNT OF THE BATTLE OF GAIAH (BEING A LETTER FROM LIEUTENANT GILBERT IRONSIDE).

"SIR,

"The last time I had the honour of addressing you was from this place, under date the 20th December, wherein I mentioned the respectful liberty I should take to trouble you with another letter if anything material occurred before the departure of the latter ships.

"This short interval has produced indeed a series of events the most fortunate that could happen for the affairs of India, the two principal points in view, the possession of Pondicherry, and the reduction of the Shahzadah being happily accomplished.

"Our Army in Bengal, from many obstacles on the part of the Nabob's troops, were prevented taking the fields until the beginning of the year, for it was a long time before Major Carnac could prevail on so many unpaid, and for that reason dissatisfied people, to remove themselves from Patna and follow him, and to leave them there was to abandon the city to that danger which threatened from their known disaffection.

"However the day at length arrived when we met the enemy, who appeared on the 15th of January on the banks of the Swan (Sone), a river about 10

[16] Ali Gauhar succeeded as nominal emperor under the title of Shah Alam the Second on the murder in 1759, of his father Alamgir the Second. He was blinded in 1788 by the Rohilla freebooter Ghulam Kadir, and died in 1806, at the age of 78. Throughout almost the whole of his reign he was a mere puppet of the Mahrattas. When Laks entered Delhi in 1803 he found him "seated in rags under a tattered canopy, the sole remnant of his former state and surrounded by every external token of misery."

coss W. of Bahar. Under cover of the cannon we immediately crossed, and without any opposition, for the enemy, retired to the distant shelter of some banks and ditches, left a free passage, and thus lost the fairest occasion they could meet with to take us at a disadvantage while our troops were divided by the water. When the gun's, ammunition had passed the river, we hastened to drive them from their intrenchment. On our approach they instantly abandoned it and retreated to another, equally tenable with the former, had they been resolute to defend it, but this too they quitted, as we advanced, were dispossessed also from a third, before they made a stand and drew up in some order upon a large plain. We still kept moving towards them, cannonading as we marched, and expected the moment their horse could begin the charge, but a lucky ball from a twelve-pounder killing the driver of the elephant on which the Shahzadah was mounted[17], the beast, deprived of his guide, turned about and carried his rider and consequently all his followers with him into the rear. This very much disconcerted them, and the artillery being served very briskly just at that time, they could stand no longer. They all followed their leader and fled in great disorder.

"The pursuit continued near three miles, when it being observed that the French brought up their rear, Major Carnac determined to make an effort at them, that at least they might not escape with the rest. The guns were therefore left behind, and two battalions of Seapoys with the Europeans made a push at Mr. Law. They played 6 pieces of small artillery as we advanced, but being levelled too high the balls passed over us. Our soldiers much to their credit passed their guns with shouldered .... The French troops broke and ran away before our Musquetry could reach them, not a shot was fired on our side nor did we lose a single man. Mr. Law with several of his officers and 50 men were then taken[18] and best part of the remainder have surrendered since. The same night the Shahzadah fled beyond Bahar. Having few horse of our own, and the Nabob's as well absolutely refusing to pursue, the Victory was not so decisive as it might have been had the troops done their duty. The Prince easily recollected his scattered forces the next day, but no more respite was given him than was absolutely requisite for the relief of our own people.

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[17] There was found among the belongings of the Shahzadah upon the driverless elephant his Majesty's writing-desk or "*Kalamdan*." It is an oblong box on a stand or small tray, lacquered, with a gold ground ornamented with the flower called "Hazar-gula," [more properly *Gul-i-hazara*, double poppy] and contains silver ink-holders, steel penknives with handles of the bone of lion fish, and carved ivory implements and Persian letters gold dusted, etc. The "lucky ball" from the twelve-pounder was fired by Captain Bradbridge, and when it killed the Royal elephant's driver, his Majesty was forced to dismount, and the desk was taken. Archibald Swinton preserved it, and brought it home with him, and it is now at Kimmerghame [Note by Mr. J. L. C. Swinton.]

[18] Jean Law of Lauriston was the nephew of Law of Mississipi Company fame, and was chief of the French factory at Saidabad, when Suraj-ud-daula captured the British residency at Cossimbazar in 1756. He withdrew to Patna in April 1757 and after Plassey joined the Shahzada. Carnac sent him to Calcutta and he left India in 1762. For an account of his odyssey up-country, see Mr. S. C. Hill's *Three Frenchmen in Bengal*.

The Major pressed close upon him the morning after the battle, and in a few marches reduced his army (retreating through a country they had before laid waste) to the utmost distress for substinence (sic).

"On the 29th the Prince sent an embassy to know the proposals which would be accepted. The terms insisted on were the instant dismission of Comda Khan, and confiding for the rest that he would rely upon the honour and good faith of the English nation. During their negotiation our marches were rather quickened than delayed, and this accelerated their resolutions, for the Prince seeing no hopes of protracting the time, complied in a few days with the terms stipulated. Fhousdar Khan was sent away, and the Shahzadah on the 7th of February joined the English camp. On the 10th the Major marched with him towards Patna, where we arrived the ...... and this day the Prince is safely lodged in the Palace of Patna, an event which has terminated the war in these parts. His maintenance is fixed at one thousand Rupees a day defrayed by the Nabob.

"The Fhousdar of Beerboon refusing to acknowledge the present Nabob, Major Yorke marched with a detachment against him, drove him (from) his capital into the hills, and appointed another to govern this district in his stead.

"Captain White being sent with a body of 80 Europeans, 2 guns, and 300 Seapoys to quell some disturbances in Berdaowan (Burdwan), was fallen upon by the Rajah of that place, whom he defeated, and entered the town. He was afterwards ordered to join Major Yorke at Beerboon, but when he approached he found his communication with the Major's party cut off by 8 or 10,000 Marrattas. He fought them, repulsed their repeated attacks, destroyed a great number of them, and at last took possession of a post which he maintained for a long time, but in the end would have been worsted for want of ammunition when Major Yorke, who was luckily near enough to hear the firing, made a forced march to his relief, upon which the Marrattas dispersed and fled the province. These strokes have entirely cleared the countries belonging to the Company of all their enemies, and there seems from our late success and present strength to be a fair prospect of a long and settled peace.

"A violent storm blew lately off Madrass. Two Men-of-War of the line foundered in it. Most of the men as is reported lost. Two ran ashore, one since got off, five were dismasted otherwise damaged, but are again partly refitted, and only wait for some masts to get off, the Men-of-War lately arrived from England to be completely so.[19]

[19] Coote writes to Fort Saint George on January 3, 1761: "Three ships have foundered: four large ships are entirely dismasted. "Admiral Stevens in his flagship stood out early to sea: he was joined by Admiral Cornish with his division: and "we had by the 15th eleven sail of the line,"

"Pondickering[20] fell the 16th of January, yielded at discretion for want of provisions. Colonel Coote would not grant them no other terms than the whole garrison surrendering prisoners of war. He took possession the same day of the Niller gate [21] and the day following that of the Citadel.

"Colonel Coote is expected in Bengal with his regiment by the latter end of next month. We shall then have a very considerable force here, either to defend the country or to support the title of the Shahzadah as was lately though of to the.........

"It is a very sensible satisfaction to the people on this side the world that they have not themselves ... while their country were so well employed in Europe, and that everything has been done which was left to do.

"The Mauritius and the .island will we hope be the conquest of the Fleet.

"Permit me, Sir, to congratulate you on these many and signal success of the British arms, and once more to subscribe myself.

"Your very obliged

"And obedient Servant

GILBERT IRONSIDE.

In the spring of 1763 Swinton was placed in command of an expedition to Meckley which he describes as "a hilly country, bounded on the north south and west by large tracts of Cookie Mountains and on the East by the Burampoota, beyond the hills to the north by Assam, to the west Cashai[22] to the south and East Burmah." Meckley was then part of the kingdom of Ava, and Swinton tells us that "there is no intercourse between Meckley and China, if they want to send a letter they cross the Burampoota, put the letter in a bamboo which they hang to the end of another bamboo, and stick it in the ground on the Burmah side." The expedition was the outcome of a letter dated September 19, 1762, from Harry Verelst, chief at Chittagong to Henry Vansittart, Governor of Fort William which was considered by the Board on

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[20] *Sic.* Pondicherry is intended. Lally retreated thither after the battle of Wandiwash. The siege began in May 1760. General Sir O'Moore Creagh in **his** *Autobiography* (p. 3) mentions that no less than five creaghs were among the "**French**" prisoners.

[21] Unintelligible as it stands. But there is a map of 1760 in Col. Wylly's **Life of Sir** Eyre Coote which shows the gates of the town and two of these are the Villenour **and** Valdour gates. "Niller" is obviously an error in transcription for "Villenour" **or** "Villenore."

[22] Cashay or Cassay—a name given to Manipur: Burmese Kase (pronounced Kathe). *Cf.* Major Michael Symes' "Account of an Embassy to the Kingdom of Ava in the year 1795": "All the troopers in the king's service are natives of Cassay who are much better horsemen than the Burmans." Meckley—is another name applied to Manipur. But from the boundaries given Swinton seems to be referring to the modern Sylhet and Cachar.

October 4.[23] The Board decided that the opportunity was a favourable one for contracting an alliance with the Meckley Rajah, and resolved to " detach six companies of Sepoys, four from hence (Calcutta) and two to be draughted from Capt. Grant's Battalion at Chittagong under the Command of Lieutenant Archibald Swinton, with two other officers, Lieutenant John Stables[24] and Ensign Scotland, to fix a post at Moneypoor and make themselves acquainted with the strength and disposition of the Burmahs and the situation of their country." Mention is made by Swinton of 100 Frenchmen and 30 Englishmen who were kept prisoners by the Burmans and compelled to fight for them: but the Board's orders were precise that the mission was " on no account to commence hostilities against the Burmahs." Verelst from Chittagong was authorised to accompany the troops.

Swinton himelf set out on May 21, 1763, but seems to have gone no further than Sylhet, for he notes in his journal that on June 29, he " set out from Silett about nine." He had learned of the new troubles which had broken out in Bengal, owing to the disputes which had arisen between the Company and Mir Kasim whom they had placed upon the musnud at Moorshedabad: and, as the Council afterwards wrote in a general letter, " on being ordered to return to Dacca he contributed greatly by his activity and bravery to recovering the Factory and reduction of the City.[25] From thence he made the greatest expedition to join the Army ".

He left Dacca on August 4, 1763, and was rowed usually from 4 A.M. till 6 P.M. every day until the 17th, when he landed and immediately marched, reaching the Army on the 19th. It was under the command of Major Thomas Adams who had been ordered to proceed to Moorshedabad upon the receipt in Calcutta of the news of the murder of Peter Amyatt on the river off Cossimbazar. Three unsuccessful attempts were made to interrupt his march but he had taken possession of the city and also of the factory at Cossimbazar, which had been plundered, and had proclaimed Meer Jaffier once more as Nawab. On July 28 he had set out from Moorshedabad. After an action at Sooti, about half way between that place and Rajmehal, he had reached Udwanala, about five miles to the south of Rajmehal, on August 11 and was surrounding the enemy who had intrenched themselves there.

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[23] See Mr. A. F. M. Abdul Ali's " *Notes on the Early History of Manipur* " (Bengal Past and Present, Vol. XXV, pp. 134 to 139 I. H. R. C. pros. Vol. V, pp. 119—27) in which details are given of the political situation in Manipur at the time.

[24] Afterwards in the Civil Service and Member of Council at Fort William from November 1782 to November 1787.

[25] *Cf.* the " Short sketch of the Troubles in Bengal to ye 28 July, 1763 " in the Powis MSS. quoted by Forrest in his Life of Clive (Vol. II. p. 238): " Dacca Factory was attacked, but there being a Considerable Number of Seapoys it was defended: however on the Enemy's retiring the Gentlemen finding their Ammunition run short and apprehending a second attack, thought it best to retire to Luckypore when being joined by Captain Grant from Chittagong and Lieutenant Swinton with a Detachment from the Eastward they returned to Dacca and retook the Factory and took possession of the city and districts but both city and Factory had been plundered."

"The Enemy had strongly fortified this post. It was protected on one side by the Mountains and on the other side by the Ganges, and they had thrown up a great work and mounted a hundred pieces of cannon, having in front a deep ditch 54 feet wide, and full of water in every part. The breadth of ground which the English had for carrying on their approaches did not exceed 200 yards, and lay between the swamp and the river, they therefore laid siege instead of attacking, from the 21st of August till the 4th of September 1763, when the commander, tired of this slow procedure, resolved to attack on the side of the Mountains. He sent Major Towin with a chosen body of Europeans and Sepoys and carried the entrenchments, when incredible slaughter and confusion ensued, and the rout of the Indians was total."

Colonel Malleson has described this forgotten battle as "one of the most glorious, one of the most daring and most successful feats of arms ever achieved." The force opposed to the English which was directed by Meer Kasim himself, and consisted of 40,000 to 60,000 men, of whom 12,000 were horsemen. Adams' little army was composed of above 400 men of His Majesty's 84th Regiment, 350 men of the Bengal European Regiment (including the French Company) 150 European Cavalry, 120 European artillery men and about 4,000 sepoys. No less than 100 guns were mounted on the breastworks, and among Meer Kasim's generals were the renegade Reinhardt (otherwise known as Sombre) and the Armenians Markar and Arratoon. Had it not been for Adams, the siege would have been abandoned in despair.[26]

Monghyr next surrendered to the English after nine days' siege in open trenches, during which Swinton was severely wounded in the left arm. Mir Kasim retreated to Patna, taking a number of English prisoners with him. William Ellis, the chief of Patna, was hot tempered and indiscreet, and had brought matters to a crisis by attempting to seize the City. The attack which was made on the morning of June 25, was successful: but as the result of a counter-attack, the English were obliged to return to the Factory, whence they retreated across the river. They marched as far as Chapra but were compelled to retrace their steps, and were taken prisoners. Swinton has preserved three accounts of the events which followed, and which culminated in the massacres of October 6 and 11, 1763. The narratives of Dr. Anderson and Dr. Fullerton have been reproduced in "The Diaries of the Three Surgeons of Patna," published by the Calcutta Historical Society in 1909.[27] The third

[26] The Burial Registers preserved at St. John's Church, Calcutta, show that Major Thomas Adams was buried on January 12, 1764. There is no monument to his memory and no trace of his grave can be found. No mention is made in Dr. Vincent Smith's Oxford History of India either of Adams or of his victory at Udwanala.

[27] Dr. Anderson's diary was also printed by Mr. Henry Beveridge in the Calcutta Review of October 1884. It is among the Hastings MSS. in the British Museum.

relates the story of the attack on the city on June 25, and the evacuation and subsequent wanderings and return to Patna. It is written by Ensign Hugh M'Kay who was later on among the victims of Sumroo.

Upon hearing the news, Major Adams marched with the main body of his army without delay from Monghyr to Patna. The Enemy made sallies with vigour and spirit and blew up a principal magazine, but the English cannon destroyed the defences and silenced the guns. A breach was made and the city was taken on November 6, 1763, after eight days' siege. Swinton who was in the advanced post, was so severely wounded as to necessitate the loss of his right arm. His brother, Lord Swinton, preserved a copy of the following extract from a letter written by John Johnstone from Fort William to his brother, George Johnstone[28] in London.

> It is with particular pleasure I can inform you of the high dessert and exploits of Captains Irving and Swinton; none stands higher in the lists of fame or in the good opinion and regard of all that know them.
>
> "Next to those who are dead, we cannot enough mourn for the hard lot of worthy Swinton who was wounded in the left hand at the Siege of Monghur, and in the right at that of Patna, in a sally. It has been obliged to be cut off since above the elbow, and his life saved with much difficulty. He thinks to return to England this season."

After the fall of Patna, Meer Kasim took refuge with the Nawab of Oudh, who received him but declined to admit his army. The British forces were encamped on the frontier: and were soon occupied with troubles of their own. Among Swinton's papers is the following:

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[28] George Johnstone (1730-1787) was the fourth son of Sir James Johnstone, Bart. of Westerhall, Dumfriesshire. He entered the Navy and in 1765 was appointed Governor of West Florida: hence his appellation of "Governor Johnstone." In 1767 he returned to England and entered the House of Commons in 1768 as member for Cockermouth. He was given command in 1781 of a squadron to operate in the East Indies against the bailli de Suffren. In January 1784 he was elected a Director of the East India Company in succession to Sir Henry Fletcher, and held office until April 1786, having previously been an influential member of the Court of Proprietors and a strong opponent of Clive. In the same year (1784) he became M.P. for Ilchester. Two of his brothers were in the Company's Service in Bengal. Patrick Johnstone came out in 1754 and perished in the Black Hole. John Johnstone arrived in 1751 and was made prisoner at Dacca during the "troubles." He fought at Plassey and in the Northern Circars under Forde: and was sent in 1765 to Moorshedabad at the head of a commission to instal Nujm-ud-daula as Nawab Nazim, when he received a "present" of Rs. 2,37,000. Governor Johnstone's son George arrived in Bengal as a writer in 1780 and in 1787 was appointed to be first assistant to the Resident at Lucknow. He figures as "Mr. Johnson" in Zoffany's picture of "Colonel Mordaunt's Cock Match" Resigning in 1797, he became M.P. for Hedon in Yorkshire in 1802. See "the Story of James Paull" in *Bengal Past and Present*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 72 Seqq.

"ACCOUNT OF THE DESERTION OF THE EUROPEANS BELONGING TO THE HONOURABLE UNITED COMPANY IN BENGAL, FEBRUARY 12TH, 1764.

The Army lay at Sant[29] under the command of Capt. Jennings before mentioned, a considerable time without anything remarkable only exersizing the Great Guns and small arms, and sending letters backwards and forwards to the King of Dillee, and Shuja Dowlah, until the 9th day of February, in the Morning, when the Battalion being ordered out to exersize, and the Adjutant, Mr. James Forster, come upon the Parade, he gave the Word of Command—"Rest your firelocks," but not a man made any motion; upon which he gave the word again, but not a man would stir. He then ordered them to the "Right about", but they would not do that neither upon which he asked them their Grevance, but not a man spoake; whereupon Captain Forster sent to Capt. Jennings, who came, and after a great many promises that if any one would turn out and tell their Grevance, that he should not be hurt, one of them stept out, and on being asked, he told them that the Prize money was Promised to be paid to themsevl times but never was, and that they heard that Major Carnac had stopped payment in Calcutta. Whereupon Captns. Jennings & Forster told them that it would be pd. in a few Days, and that concerning Major Carnac was all false, they then went to the Right about, lodged their Arms and went to their Tents, and all was very quiet, till the 11th, then about 8 o'clock the camp was alarmed by the Drums beating of the General, and all the Men Turning out in a confused order, the Troopers began to Saddle their horses, but Lt. Geo. Bolten Eyres, who commanded the horse then in Camp, Draw'd his sword upon one Symmons, Camp Colour man, upon which they Run to the Bell Tent, took up their Arms and Joined the Battalion on foot. Captn. Jennings thought to suppress the Mutiny by seesing the Ring Leader and confining him, but here he was Mistaken for 8 or 10 fixed their Bayonets. and if he had not run for it would certainly have took his life. They then proceeded to Appoint Officers, such as One Collenol and Two Majors, and one Jack Straw, a Desperate sort of a fellow, was made Adjutant, and sent a party of men to the Right to Secure the Park, & all the Lascars & Bollocks that they could find, and likewise one to the left, for the same Purpose, and a Party was sent along with the Troopers to gett their horses, whilse a party went with Captn. Stables to the Nabob, with one who could speak the tongue, who told them that he would give them a lack of Rupees, Directly, and one more in two hours time, and likewise a Bill upon Patna for two lack more. In the mean-time all the officers was collecting all the Money they could, and brought it, and laid it before them on the Parade, But all this would not satisfy them, for they insisted upon the Immediate Paiment of 500 Rs. each Man, By this time the Troopers joined them, with the aforesaid Mr. Symmons,

[29] Sawath, on the banks of the river Durgauti, on the Grand Trunk Road between Sasaram and Moghal Sarai.

and the Black Cavalry and Mr. Symmons took command of the whole Cavalry, and the two other Partys also joined them, then they faced to the Right and Marched off with 5 guns towards the Nabob, whose tent they surrounded, and pointed a Gun at it. But recollecting, they faced again and Marched for the Carramnassa, (the Granadiers who in the first Mutiny where sent to join the Advanced party of Seapoys who lay at the Carramnassa, were upon the Braking out of the Mutiny a-fresh, sent for and returned a Different road to what the Battalion went, which was the reason of their missing them) giving out that they were going to fetch the Granadiers, but when they came to a Crick which lay in their way, they left the Guns for want of Bullocks, which were presently brought back, they then proceeded on to the Carramnassa, and the Officers followed beging of them to return, which several of the English Did, beginning to find out the Design of the Foreigners[30]. The Foreigners proceeding on their March to the Carramnassa where most of the Seapoys that was there, join'd and went with them a-cross the Carramnassa River, and proceeded for Benares, by this Time Most of them Returned, as likewise the Seapoys, but the Frenchmen still march'd on till about 12 o'clock at night, when they halted and appointed Mr. De-Le-Mar (formerly sargent of the French Company in his Majesty's 84th Regt.), Commander in Chief. Then they sett forward again and arrived at Benaras. Capt. Jennings & the Nabob sent Harcarars, to the Raja of Banaras to stop the Deserters, which he said he would, but on the Contrary supplyed them with a thousand Rupees, and Boats to cross them over the River, which they Did and joined Cossun Alley Cawn & Somro and Collenol De-Le-Mar sent a letter to Capt. Jennings, in which he said that they had always behaved like good soldiers, all the Campaign, they had been used ill, and was always put upon, and that they had this Design in hand a great wile before, but could never find an opportunity till this June of getting away, and that as they was frenchmen we should alwas find them as good frenchmen still.

A list of the Europeans who Desserted, 12th February 1764, from the European Battalion:—

Non. Com. and Private	154
From the First Troops of European Cavalry . .	9
From the Second Troops of European Cavalry . .	7
Total Europeans .	170

From the different Battalions of Seapoys with Europe Arms, two hundred, and with much difficulty were cept from firing; had one firelock gone off by accident or otherwise it would certainly been the destruction of the whole

[30] One of the four French Companies, which was commanded by Claud Martin, stood firm. There were also some Dutchmen and Germans.

Army and the loss of almost, if not quite all, the Europeans & the total loss of Bengall, but God who forsees all things ordered it other wise."

* * * * *

Accompanying this account is the following letter from "James Logan to James Campbell."

Feb. 13, 1764.

DEAR JAMIE,

Pray why so long silent, do you return or do you go home? What are you doing or what are you about to do? It would be kind but to let us know...... you wrong me if you think your concerns of such moment are indifferent to me. I assure you I think myself interested in them, and I imagine your sentiments with regard to mine are the same.

Here is the Devil to pay, and no Pitch Hot about the Bill money, the day before yesterday almost the whole Europeans took up arms and demanded the payment of the Prise money immediately, they appointed a Colonell and 2 Majors to command them, the former of whom with a body guard to attend him, went with Capt. Stables to the Nabob who proposed sending immediately to Patna for 2 lack of rupees to give them, but they would not wait nor would they accept of 30,000 Rupees which the officers collected and offered them upon the Parade, but since they would not have their prese money said they would go join Cassim Ali-con, accordingly they seized 5 pieces of cannon, mounted all the troop horses & marched off in regular order. Part of the Mogul Horse brought up their rear and forced along many Europeans who were unwilling to go, they soon left the guns and marched on with them in good order towards the Caremnassa which they crossed and encamped 3 coss beyond it that night, the greatest part of Stibbert's Battalion of Seapoys which was at the Caremnassa joined them and crossed it with them, but they almost all returned as well as the Europeans who are all come back except about 200 who were almost all Foreigners that are gone for good. Serjeant Delamare, late of the Regiment, is their commander in Chief. All the Europeans now in Camp have received 40 Rs. a man, and are contented, but to-day Swinton's, Smith's and Gaillases Battalions took up arms and were going to follow the Deserters but I hear they've all returned, but on what terms I don't yet know, being her (e) a coss from Camp with the Hospital, which I have had the care of for this month past.

Now the above is all the news (& a damned deal too I think) pray let me have but half as much from you in return.

I have not yet received the money of Captain Nolleking, pray deliver the enclosed Belt to Godard and receive the money if he intends to pay it, he has

used me damned (ill?) already in not paying it. I wrote him since he has been in Calcutta about it, he has not deigned me an answer. Pray write me soon, and

Believe me to be,
Dear Campbell,
Yours sincerely,

JAS. LOGAN.

Mahuneah (Maner),
February 13th, 1764.

This mutiny was soon followed by another. When the "prize money" (which had been given by Mir Jaffir) did arrive it was distributed by Captain Jennings in such a manner that the Europeans received six times as much as the sepoys. These promptly mutinied in their turn, and further concessions were necessary in order to appease them.[31]

Major Carnac arrived to take command in March 1764. The Army was short of provisions, and the troops still discontented about their pay. Carnac retreated to Patna and camped under the walls of the city. Colonel (after General) Richard Smith now takes up the story in a letter to Orme, of which Swinton appears to have obtained a copy.[32]

* * * * *

The Vizier crossed the Carumnassa with the most formidable army that any Nabob has commanded for many years (and) ... surrounded Patna and our intrenchments. Armed Boats on the Ganges saved our Army from famine. It was very much apprehended that Sujah Dolah would detach a conciderable Corps from before Patna to posses even Muxadavad—but fortunately for us the retreat of our Army had elated him beyond measure. On the 3rd May 1764 he made a general attack upon all our intrenchments. Carnac wisely stood upon the defensive, and the Moors were at every post repulsed with loss. (But remark the effect of Party rage. Carnac was blamed at Calcutta for not following the Blow, by marching directly to attack the enemy, although his Troops had been under arms Twenty six hours, and engaged almost half the time with the Enemy). The Vizier remained some days longer in the vicinity of Patna and the rainy season approaching, he crossed the Carumnassa and wintered in his own Dominions. Major Carnac in the ensuring Month

[31] In a letter addressed to Lord Clive on September 9, 1765, by Ralph Leycester, James Graham and George Vansittart, "Agents for the Squadron" (Pub. Dept. Progs. Sept. 9, 1765) a reference will be found to the grant by Meer Jaffier of a donation of Rs. 12,50,000 to the squadron for their services in the war against Meer Cossim. This was the "Navy donation." Complaint is made that "not a single rupee has been received."

[32] Swinton met General Richard Smith at Buxton in September 1792 and writes to his son John that "He and I are acquaintances of forty years standing, having arrived in India, I believe, in the same week."

having had notice of his Dismission from the Service, before the public advices arrived, quitted the command of the army, and a detachment of Highlanders, being arrived from Bombay commanded by Major Munro of the 89th regiment; these were sent to reinforce our Army, and before the Season for Action Major Munro arrived at Patna in the character of Commander in Chief.[33] When the rainy season was past we took the field, & crossed the Sohn. In October the Vizier's army was assembled and marched towards us. Towards the end of the month[34] we fought the battle of Buxar, and gained a very complete Victory. In very few days after this our Army took possession of Benares. Sir Robert Fletcher arrived in Camp second in Command. The season approached when His Majesty's troops must either remain another year or proceed to Calcutta for embarkation. The Shahzada or more properly the King came, once more, under our protection. Some overtures were made by Sumroo, and the Corps of Frenchmen as Preliminaries; either he had too much Honour, or he did not suppose his Situation quite desperate. We were too much elated by success to recede. The *Success* Transport arrived with advice of the change of the Administration of India affairs, in Europe. The Packet not being addressed to Vansittart, he declined opening it until he was prevailed on by his Council, and would have quitted his Government but for their Solicitations. The Brigadier's Commission for Carnac hastened Major Munro's return. He left the Command of the Army to Sir Robert Fletcher, who you know is naturally of a military turn and fond of Exploits. He did not totally approve of our inactivity after the Battle of Buxar, he was therefore determined to make the best use of his interval of Command, and marched towards Ilhiabad[35] the Capital. Chinargur, a fort of importance, after two unsuccessful attacks on our part was abandoned by the enemy (February 11, 1765) Sujah Dowlah attended the Army with a Body of six or seven thousand Horse skirmishing often, but never venturing near enough to engage. We took possession of the Capital without any material loss; after a very short siege it capitulated. In January (1765) General Carnac posted to Camp to command the Army once more; in the same Month Mr. Vansittart sailed for Europe, leaving Spenser in the Government. In February Jaffir Alhe Cawn died; his eldest natural son he very earnestly recommended to be his Successor. The *Lapwing* was arrived from Europe with certain intelligence of Lord Clive's coming out, and had more over brought out the Covenants regarding Presents —more of this hereafter ... Sujah Dowlah driven from his Capital endeavoured to form an Alliance, that might reinstate him in his Dominions, and Mulhar Row[36] a Morattoe General, commanding some thousand Horse, he took into

[33] A third mutiny took place at Manjhi (on the Gogra, west of Chapra) when Munro was ordered to take over command from Carnac. Munro arrived on August 13, 1764 at Chapra and blew 24 of the ringleaders from the guns.

[34] October 23, 1764.

[35] Allahabad.

[36] **Malhar Rao Holkar: died 1766 at Alampore.**

his pay, and endeavoured to prevail on the Rohella Chiefs to join him, but without any great effect, tho' he had a very considerable Corps of Pitans, called by us Durunnies. Thus he collected a very numerous Corps of Troops, but by no means equal to the preceding Campaign, for having lost his Field Artillery in the Action at Buxar he could not repair that misfortune. The General had sent detachments, who took possession of the Cities of Owd and Lucknow, and settled those Provinces, and when he heard that the Vizier had collected something like an Army, and intended once more to try his fortune, he marched from Ilhiabad fifty or sixty Coss to meet him. The Morattoes had entered the Provinces by the side of Korah; the General crossed the Ganges to meet them, and on the 3rd May came up with them; they made but an indifferent stand. After this Skirmish Sujah Dowlah separated from them, and the General kept pursuing the Morattoes until he drove them quite over the Jumna, and obliged them to abandon the fort of Calpee,[37] which they possessed on the opposite side within fifty Coss of Agra.

The Vizier's attempt to recover his Dominions was very feeble indeed, and he now was convinced of the impracticability of it. From Military operations he could have no hopes of success. He had seen the very honourable reception we had twice given to his Royal Master, and was determined to try what a Reception he should receive by placing an unlimited confidence in our Honour. He accordingly wrote a letter to the General, and the very next day came into our camp, where he was received with all possible marks of distinction.

He remained with the General till Lord Clive arrived in these parts. On the 31st July, Sujah Dowlah, the General, and myself met his Lordship at Chunderonty, a fort situated on the Ganges, five coss below Benares. From Benares they proceeded to Ilhiabad, to settle all matters with the King and afterwards with Sujah Dowlah.

Swinton was with Carnac, who had written as follows to Spencer, the President at Fort William, on January 26, 1765:

> "I purpose appointing Captain Swinton my Persian interpreter provisionally, till the Board's pleasure is known, and I request you will procure me the confirmation of that appointment. I will boldly pronounce there is no person at present in Bengal so capable of that Employ, he being as well as any, in the country language, and superior to all, in the knowledge of the manners of the Natives, and how we are to conduct ourselves towards them, for which he is peculiarly qualified, by the mildness and

[37] 22nd May, General Carnac thus describes the attack at Calpee in a letter to the Council "In the dead of night, marched up 3 battalions of Sepoys with 2 guns, but our boats being so few (only two) and small not more than half (about 1,100) the Sepoys, with the two guns, could be got over before day appeared. This much was done, however, without the Enemy having the least notice of it, and these Sepoys were so well conducted by Major Jennings, with the assistance of Captain Swinton, as to clear the opposite shore entirely of the enemy, whom I judge to have been from 8 to 10,000."

> calmness of his temper, besides as we must have much intercourse with the King, he is fittest of anybody to be about him, His Majesty being so much pleased with his behaviour formerly, as to conceive an extreme liking to, and to have an entire confidence in him."

An incomplete manuscript contains Swinton's notes upon the events of the next few weeks:—

* * * * *

Negotiations detained the General some days. He arrived with the King at Allahabad on the 25th February. Here he received letters from Binny Bahadur[38] Prime Minister to Sujah Dowlah, who rented most part of the Provinces of Oude and Lucknow, offering to submit on certain terms, and bring over great part of Sujah Dowlah's forces, who had at this time left his own country and was gone toward Delhy in order to endeavour to engage some of the other Powers of the Empire into a confederacy in his favour.

The General sent Binny Bahader letters of safe conduct, and assurances of free leave to depart in case they could not come to an agreement, in consequence of which he came in on the 19th March 1765 with a body of about 10,000 men.

21st March.—The General had some days before sent Major Stibbert with the greatest part of the Army towards Oude, the Capital of one of the Provinces about the centre of Sujah Dowlah's dominions, and himself waited B. B.'s arrival at Allahabad. After his arrival he left the King with part of the Army under the command of Sir R. Fletcher, after concerting with His Majesty in what manner the country ought to be settled, and taking Mongral Dowlah and Shitabroy with him on the part of the King to manage the collections, in case of not agreeing with Binny Bahader. He followed the Army with a small escort, taking Rajah B. B. and his troops along with him. B. B.'s proposals appeared eligible to the King's ministers and to the General, but as he had been in such high favour with Sujah Dowlah, and commanded his Armies against us, the General thought it reasonable we should have some security of his future fidelity, and therefore insisted he should place his Family, which were then at Lucknow, somewhere under our protection and power, either at Patna or Benares. He at last seemed to agree to this, and took leave of the General on the 25th March, under pretence of bringing his Family from Lucknow, leaving almost all his troops behind him. But the fact was, he had

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[38] Rajah Balwant Singh Beni Bahadur who was appointed Naib of Ranipur by Shuja-ud-Daulah in 1762. In the year following he commanded four or five thousand of Shuja-ud-Daulah's troops when the Emperor and Shuja-ud-Daulah were at Benares planning to invade Behar. Raja Beni Bahadur crossed the Ganges but subsequently thought it prudent not to proceed against the English and went back. When the Emperor and Shuja-ud-Daulah suffered defeat Beni Bahadur conducted negotiations between them and the English.

private intelligence that Sujah Dowlah having engaged Rae Mulhar to join him, had laid aside his design of going on to Delhi, and purposed to make another effort to recover his Dominion, of which the General didn't receive intelligence till two days after at Oude, when immediately doubting B. B.'s steadiness, he sent me after him to Lucknow with a party of Mogul Horse and Sepoys.

I marched all night and next day, reached Derriabad about 40 miles from Oude; meeting with opposition here, we attacked and took this Fort. In proceeding on to Lucknow, which place we reached on the 31st early in the morning, and found that Binny Bahader.........

* * * * *

The rest is lost. But General Carnac wrote on May 27: "Hearing that Sujah Dowlah was drawing near, I sent Captain Swinton with Rajah Shitabroy tc meet him. He arrived in the evening, on the opposite side of the river, and immediately crost it with his Brother-in-law, Salar Jung (sic) and a very few followers, in order to wait upon me. I received him with all possible marks of distinction, at which he expressed much satisfaction."

That the Vizier entertained a high regard for Swinton is evidenced by the fact that he presented him with his own sword, which is preserved at Kimmerghame. It bears this inscription:—"To Archibald Swinton Rustum Jung Bahadur Captain in the East India Company's Service from Shujah Dowlah Nabob of Oude and Vizier of the Empire of Hindostan".

After the signature of the Treaty of Allahabad in August 1765, Swinton was sent to Dacca to take over the *dewani* from the then Naib Nazim, Jusserat Khan: and the memory of "Sooltin Sahib's" visit still survives.[39] This was his last piece of work in India. He retired from the Company's service in October 1765: and sailed for Europe in circumstances which he thus relates:

> "In the end of the year, 1765, the Emperour Shah Alum requested the English Army to conduct him to Delhi, and assist in placing him on the Throne of his Fathers, but as Lord Clive could not promise him that, he resolved with Ld. Clive's approbation to send a letter to the king of Great Britain to solicit his assistance.
>
> "As I was about to return to Europe, and was well known to the King of Hindostan, the Vizier Monyr al Dowlah requested me to be the bearer of it. This I mentioned to Lord Clive, who readily consented, accordingly on the ... (blank) ... of Dec. 1765, the letter was delivered to Lord Clive, and the same time put into my hand by his Lordship ... . He also requested me to carry a munshy to

[39]Notes on the Antiquities of Dacca by Sayyid Aulad Hasan (Dacca, 1904), quoting from Rahman Ali's Tarikh-i-Dhaka MS., p. 81. From 1768 Jusserat Khan administered the province in conjunction with a member of Council representing the Company. On the death of the Nawab the Company assumed sole charge and his five successors held the nominal title of Naib Nazim with a monthly pension of Rs. 6,000.

> Europe with me in case it should be thought proper to send an answer in the Persian language. Having obtained Lord Clive's consent, I engaged the Munshy to go to Europe, Monyr al Dowlah, however, insisted on paying 2,000 Rs. (£250) towards his charges."

Swinton appears not to have quitted India before the middle of January, 1766: for on January 19, he recorded a statement, at the request of Carnac, relative to certain intrigues carried on with Mir Jafar by Nuncomar. He took with him not only the munshi, but also "several large Indian Jars, Indian and Chinese pictures painted on glass, a variety of ivory, silver, and crystal handled arms, jewels and Persian books." The ship rounded the Cape as usual, and proceeded to Nantes, where Swinton landed and remained for sixteen days. He then set out, post, in a carriage for England, leaving the munshi and the baggage to go by sea to Calais, and thence to Dover.

After spending three months in London, Swinton went to Oxford, where he and the Munshy assisted Sir William Jones (who had just been elected to a fellowship at University College) with his Indian and Persian manuscripts. Thence they made their way to Scotland and "alighted at the house of Captain Swinton's father in Edinburgh."

The fame of Swinton accompanied him, for he received the freedom of the city of Glassgow, the burgh of Fortrose, and the Town of Inverness. In 1769 he purchased the estate of Manderston, and added Kimmerghame to it in 1771. He married Henrietta Campbell daughter of James Campbell of Blythswood on October 17, 1776. They had six children, three sons and three daughters. John (born 1777) the eldest entered the Army and served in 1799 with the Allies in Holland against the French. James (born 1785) the fifth child obtained a cadetship in the Company's service on the Madras establishment and sailed for India in the *Lady Jane Dundas* on March 20, 1804, reaching Madras on July 18.[10] He was principally employed in surveying but served as a volunteer in Colonel St. Leger's short and successful campaign in Travancore against the rebel dewan Velu Tampi in March 1809. Subsequently he took the first survey of Palamcottah. He died at Madras on November 2, 1813. The third son and youngest child, Samuel Robert Archibald (born 1791) went to sea as a midshipman in the Company's service. He made two

[10] *The Lady Jane Dundas*, together with the *Calcutta* and the *Jane Duchess of Gordon* "parted company from the fleet off the Mauritius" on March 14, 1809, on the homeward voyage, and "was not since heard of." There is an allusion to the tragedy in a letter written to James Swinton by his aunt Mrs. Ferguson on February 3, 1810. Among those on board was General Hay MacDowall, the late commander-in-chief at Madras who had been superseded in connexion with the mutiny of British officers. "What a signal misfortune has attended poor General MacDowall, for we cannot now doubt he has perished in *The Lady Jane Dundas* the very ship that landed you in India. Many worthy characters are gone: Colonel Orr, his wife and family, and many others. If it is ever decreed that you are to be permitted to come home, be on your guard what ship you come in, see that it has a compliment (sic) of good sailors that are able contend with storms."

voyages on board his cousin Captain A. F. W. Swinton's ship, the *Lady Burges* Indiaman. The first was in 1804 to Calcutta, where he spent Christmas. Among the passengers was Sir John D'oyly, the sixth baronet: of whom the boy writes in a letter of August 29, 1804, "off St. Helena, "that" in my life I never saw a person who so much reminds me in every way of that best of Fathers." The ship returned to the Downs on September 9, 1805 and sailed again for "the Bay" from Portsmouth on March 31, 1806: but was wrecked on April 20, 1806. She struck a rock between Sao Jago and Boavista two of the Cape Verde Islands. Thirty-four lives were lost: and among the drowned were three midshipmen, of whom young Swinton was one.

Archibald Swinton did not learn of this disaster. He died at Bath on March 6, 1804, at the age of 74: and was buried in the Abbey Church. A marble oval tablet on the north wall of the chancel testifies that it was "erected by his eldest son, Captain John Swinton of H. M. 91st Regiment, as a small tribute of grateful affection to the beloved and revered memory of the best of Fathers." No allusion is made to Swinton's Indian career in the inscription.

The Indian connexion was continued by the descendants of Archibald Swinton's eldest brother John, a Senator of the College of Justice in Scotland under the title of Lord Swinton. The fifth son of the Judge, George, came out to Bengal as a writer in 1804 and served until 1833. He was appointed Chief Secretary in 1827 and acted as temporary member of Council from March 13 to July 3, 1828. Of his five sons, three entered the Indian army, and the other two the Bengal Civil Service (Alan, 1842-1864, Judge of Gorakhpur, died 1868) and Archibald Adam (1842-1867, Judge of Tipperah, died 1894). William Swinton, another of the sons of Lord Swinton, came out to Bengal as a cadet in 1798 and retired in 1831. His two sons went to Madras as writers. George Melville Swinton served from 1834 to 1853, and died at the Cape in the latter year. Robert Blair Swinton served from 1849 to 1874 and died in 1912. He was the father of Lieutenant-Colonel F. E. Swinton, C.I.E., I.M.S., now in Bombay, and Major-General Sir Ernest Swinton, R.E., the present Chichele Professor of Military History at Oxford University.

Mention must also be made of Samuel Swinton, another of the sons of Lord Swinton, who came out to Bengal as a writer in 1794, and retired in 1831. He was Commercial Resident at Etawah (1802) and at Kearpoy and Midnapore (1806-1813): and Senior Member of the Board of Customs Salt and Opium (1819). His daughter Mary was married at St. John's Church, Calcutta, on July 26, 1822, to James Weir Hogg, advocate and Registrar of the Supreme Court, who was a director of the East India Company from 1839 to 1858, twice Chairman (1846 and 1852) and thrice Deputy Chairman (1845, 1850 and 1851) and a member of the Secretary of State's Council from 1858 to 1872.

The portrait of Archibald Swinton which we reproduce is taken from a picture painted in 1787 or 1788 by Naesmith. It hangs at Kimmerghame ask

represents him on the banks of the Blackadder with his wife and five of their six children, of whom one only (James) is shown in the photograph.

A portrait of Archibald Swinton was also introduced by Benjamin West into his picture of "Shah Alum, the Great Mogul, conveying the Grant of Dewanny of Bengal, Behar and Orissa to Lord Clive in August, 1765." He stands behind General John Carnac whose aide-de-camp and Persian Interpreter he was. This historic event was the outcome of the Treaty of Allahabad, which was concluded on August 16, 1765, between Clive and Carnac, representing the Nawab Nazim of Bengal, and the East India Company, on the one hand, and Shuja-ud-daula, Nawab Wazir of Oudh, on the other. The Treaty is written in Persian and English and is witnessed by Swinton, Edmund Mackelyne (the brother-in-law of Clive) and George Vansittart who was Persian translator. The actual document which was for some time in the possession of Sir John Kaye, hangs in the reading-room of the India Office Library, and a reproduction of it was given in the *Journal of Indian Art for July, 1890.*[41] A replica of West's picture which was painted for Clive's son the Earl of Powis, was presented to the East India Company in October, 1820. It stood at the India House in the Finance and Home Committee-room and has now been placed in the Finance Committee Room at the India Office.[42] Archibald Swinton's son John must be referring to the original picture which is now in the possession of the Earl of Plymouth (whose family name is Windsor Clive) when he writes to his brother James on April 8, 1804, after his father's death: "I have seen West's painting and he offers to make a portrait from it, but, tho' like, it was done when he was so much younger than we can recollect him that it does not convey the idea of him sufficiently strong to make it desirable."

There is another portrait of Swinton at Kimmerghame. It is by Sir Joshua Reynolds who has painted him in a red coat and eqaulettes a photograph of it may be seen in the offices of Messrs. Burn and Company at Calcutta which were removed this year (1925) from the house in Hastings Street, once inhabited by Warren Hastings,[43] to the Hong-kong and Shanghai Bank Buildings at the corner of Council House Street and Dalhousie Square, which occupy the site of the old Calcutta Exchange.

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[41] See also "Relics of the Honourable East India Company" (1909).

[42] A reproduction of the key-plate, which was drawn on stone by J. Baker and printed by J. Redman, was given in *Bengal Past and Present*, Vol. XXVI, p. 23, and also in the Report of the proceedings of the Indian Historical Records Commission for 1924.

[43] It appears from an entry on June 17, 1779, in the Proceedings of the Board of Inspection at Fort William in Bengal (India Office Records, Home Miscell. Vol. 357) that Warren Hastings presented a minute to the Board, dated the day previous, in which he complained of "the inconveniences which I have hitherto suffered in so circumscribed a habitation as my house in town" and proposed that "the house, the property of the estate of the late Col. Fortnom, be taken for the Company on a lease of one year to commence from the 1st of July at the rent of 1200 sicca rupees per month for the accommodation of the Governor-General." This is the house now known as 7 Hastings Street which was for so many years occupied by Messrs. Burn and Company.

A word may be said here as to the tradition which connects Archibald Swinton with the foundation of the firm of Burn and Company. Mr. C. B. Chartres, one of the present partners, has been good enough to supply the writer with such information as the firm possesses. It is to be feared that it does not lend support to the theory. In a note prepared in 1924 by Mr. W. M. Glover, the chief Accountant, the statement is made, upon the authority of a Mr. Aitchison, that the firm was established about the year 1790 by " Colonel Swinton " who, after leaving the Army, went into business in Calcutta as a builder and contractor. Upon his retirement from India he handed over the management to his foreman, John Rolt, who died in Calcutta about the year 1816 in impoverished circumstances due to large advances made to contractors who subsequently failed to carry out the works entrusted to them.[44] If these details are to be accepted, it is clear that Archibald Swinton cannot have been the founder of the firm. He left India in 1766 with the rank of Captain in the Company's service and never revisited the country. Nor will the facts fit his nephew, William, the son of Lord Swinton, regarding whom we have already noted that came out to Bengal as a cadet in 1798 and retired with the rank of Colonel in 1831. Although he can be described with propriety as " Colonel Swinton," the dates of his residence in India put him equally out of Court. It has been suggested that the clue may lie in two elder brothers of Archibald Swinton, Robert and Francis. Both were in the Company's army and both died unmarried. But I have not been able to trace any Francis Swinton on the Bengal establishment: and the Robert Swinton whom I have found served in the Bengal Cavalry from 1794 to 1809, when he resigned, being then a major. The puzzle must be left for solution upon a future occasion.

Collections of Oriental Manuscripts in Lahore.

(By A. C. Woolner, M.A.)

The two collections of manuscripts of which I propose to give some particulars have been formed during the last ten years or so in the University Library, and in the Lal Chand Library of the Dayanand Anglo-Vedic College. These of course are not the first collections to be made in Lahore. One of the Ministers of Maharaja Ranjit Singh is known to have made a considerable collection of Sanskrit manuscripts which was still in existence about twenty years ago. There was a printed list of its contents under the title of the Madhusudan Library. One of my staff reported on this collection and unsuccessful efforts were made to purchase it for the Oriental College. Afterwards the collection (or what was left of it) came into the hands

[44] Mr. Glover writes: " Mr. Aitchison says that he had this information by hearsay from the late Mr. Peter Nichol and from Govinda Baboo, whose source of knowledge was also oral."

of ladies and ceased to be open to inspection. There are many other private collections. As we shall see the D. A. V. searchers estimate that there are at least 10,000 Sanskrit manuscripts in Lahore alone which are not yet available to students.

Lal Chand Research Library.

For the Sanskritist the largest and most important collection is that in the Lal Chand Research Library. During the last eight years about 5,000 Sanskrit manuscripts have been collected from the Panjab and other Provinces for an expenditure of only about Rs. 10,000 on purchases.

To the courtesy of Pandit Bhagwaddatta, B.A., and other members of the Library Staff I am indebted for the information on which this account is based.

The genesis of the collection was almost accidental. The College Librarian Pandit Hans Raj happened to be in the shop of an Indian druggist. Among the waste paper being used for wrapping up purchases he noticed some leaves of Sanskrit manuscript and was able to retrieve what became the first manuscript of the collection. Next Pandit Bhagwaddatta secured a number of manuscripts from the house of a Kashmiri Pandit of Lahore whose books were being disposed of after his death as waste papers.

This incident gave him the idea that something could be done by patient search and he soon became an enthusiastic and successful collector. From 1917 the Managing Committee of the College made an annual grant of Rs. 2,500 for the purchase of Sanskrit printed books and manuscripts. In 1918 extensive tours were undertaken in the Panjab and the United Provinces. Assistance was given to the collectors by the local institutions belonging to the Arya Samaj. In three years about 1,500 manuscripts were collected in this way.

During these tours it was observed that even large towns believed to have been thoroughly ransacked by scholars, still contained large numbers of manuscripts. Lahore for example has yielded about fifty valuable manuscripts, among which may be mentioned the Renu-kārikā on the Parāskara-Gṛihya-Sūtra, of which only two other manuscripts are known and the Kāthaka-Gṛihya-Pañjikā which is being used by Dr. Caland for his edition of the Kāthaka-Gṛihya-Sūtra. This is the one complete manuscript known to exist.

I may quote here the words of my informants :—

> "According to our calculations there are still at least ten thousand manuscripts in Lahore which the owners are unwilling to part with. We have failed in spite of our best efforts. Offers of money, social pressure, repeated visits and requests all have proved futile. One man possesses about a thousand manuscripts. A year of repeated visits and requests resulted in plain refusal "not a leaf of manuscript shall I part with." The Chikitsā-kalikā is a very rare work on Medicine.

No Library possesses a complete manuscript of this work. But in a house in Lahore there are two manuscripts of it which we failed to secure.

Manuscripts have been destroyed, burnt or thrown into the Ravi in large numbers during the Plague epidemics. Many a widow has used them for the preparation of baskets. A manuscript of the Kāśika-Vivarna-Panjikā was secured from a dust heap in a local temple after the Mahant had been propitiated by a present."

Many manuscripts have been presented by friends in the mufassil. The first manuscript of the North Western version of Vālmīki's Rāmāyaṇa was received from Kaithal in this way. Students of the college have assisted in the work for nominal remuneration. About 500 manuscripts have been collected from Multan and Bahawalpur.

From Kashmir came a copy of the Chārāyanīya Mantrārshādya of which only one other manuscript is recorded and that at Berlin.

As the work progressed it was thought advisable to have agents in other provinces also. Twenty palm-leaf manuscripts were received from Orissa through an Arya missionary. Among these was the Kānvīya recension of the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa. Malabar has supplied about 200 manuscripts obtained through Mr. R. A. Shastri, the well known Manuscript collector. Some of these are unique, *e.g.*, a Commentary on the Rig Veda by Udgīthāchārya which is quoted by Sāyaṇa and a Commentary on the Niruktam by Maheshwara neither of which has been found before.

About 1,000 manuscripts come from Nāsik, to which town Pandit Bhagwaddatta has been paying annual visits. It was here that a local Pandit saved two manuscripts of the Vārāha-Gṛihya-Sūtra which a widow threw into the river while he was bathing there. These manuscripts are decidedly superior to those used by Mr. Shamashastri for his edition published in the Gaikwar's Oriental Series. From Nāsik comes Jayanta's Commentary on the Āśvalāyana-Gṛihya-Sūtra of which only one other manuscript is known.

Sometimes owners who refuse to sell, will lend manuscripts to be copied. Thus Pitṛibhūti's Commentary on the Kātyāyana-Śrauta-Sūtra—a new discovery—has been lent by a Pandit of Nāsik and is now being copied in the Library.

I am glad to say that the Lal Chand Library has followed a liberal policy in loaning manuscripts to Indian and European Scholars. In the Panjab Oriental Series the authorities of the College are publishing a number of new texts. The Atharva-Vedīya-Pañcha-Paṭalikā and the Bṛihad Sarvānukramanikā of the Atharva Veda have been issued. The Kathaka-Gṛihya-Sūtra edited by Dr. W. Caland is nearing completion.

The Library has undertaken the publication of the North Western recension of Vālmīki's Rāmāyana of which it possesses about 300 manuscripts of various Kāṇḍas. An edition of the Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa is also being prepared.

In addition to the manuscripts mentioned above the following may be noted :—

Dev Rāja's Vṛitti-pradīpa on the Ashtādhyāyi (otherwise unknown). Hārita's Commentary on Vālmīkī's Rāmāyana (otherwise unknown).

Sarva-Darśana-Sangraha—a very old manuscript.

Kādambarī dated 1492 Samvat.

Rig-Veda with colophon of Śākala-Samhitā and another manuscript containing several new Khilas.

These particulars will suffice to indicate the value of the collection of which a Catalogue is being prepared though there are not enough funds for its speedy publication.

These facts are also an indication of how much there remains to be done in the way of systematic combing of the ground for manuscripts and how much can be done with comparatively little expenditure by an unofficial organisation, when once the idea is taken up with enthusiasm.

University Library.

In the Oriental Department of the University Library there are over 2,000 manuscripts of which 1,357 are in Sanskrit or Hindi and 791 in Persian or Arabic. The Persian and Arabic Section includes the Azad Collection which was presented to the University and contains some important manuscripts, on which my colleague Professor Muhammad Shafi is reading a paper.

Apart from the Azad Collection and a few other manuscripts presented to the Library, these manuscripts have been purchased since 1914 for about Rs. 15,000 almost equally divided between the two sections. No systematic search could be undertaken, though members of the Oriental College have occasionally visited certain places where manuscripts were expected to be found.

In addition to the Accession List work has now been started on a Catalogue after the India Office model. The card index of authors and Titles made for this Catalogue will be kept as a Card Catalogue.

Among the Sanskrit and Hindi manuscripts a good many are either unique or rare.

Mention may be made of the following :—

1. Vājasaneyī Saṁhitā. Manuscript dated 1537 V. S. 445 years old. Complete.
2. Pingala Marubhāsā, a work resembling the Prākrita-pingala. Rare. Written in Apabhraṁśa. Incomplete.
3. Śāntikagranthaśangraha. This work contains a Stotra written in Apabhraṁśa. Rare. Complete.
4. Līlā, a commentary on Kāvya-Prakāśa, by Bhavadava. A rare manuscript more than two hundred years old. Complete.

5. Cāṇakyanīti of Bhojarāja. Subject Nīti. A rare manuscript One more manuscript known to exist. More than 200 years old.

6. Vaiṣṇava Toṣiṇī, a commentary on the 10th book of Bhāgavata Purāna by Sanātana Gosvāmī. A rare manuscript. Complete.

7. Bhakti-Vijñanamañjarī, a religio-philosophical work by a Maharaja of Haripur (District Kangra). A work not mentioned in catalogues. This is accompanied by a commentary written during the author's lifetime.

8. Śārīvika-Sūtras of Bādarāyana with a commentary by Jayarāma, the famous logician. This work is not mentioned by Aufrecht. Complete. Manuscript more than 100 years old.

9. Sāṁkhya-Tattva-Prakāśa, a commentary on Sāṁkhya-Kārikā, by Śrī Navāsa. An unknown work. It was written for a certain king named Īśvara Krishṇa. Complete.

10. Aṣṭādhyāyī of Pāṇinī with the commentary Śabda-Bodhinī by Gokulcandra. An unknown work. Complete.

11. Gītā, a handsome manuscript with illustrations.

12. Mahābhārata, a specimen of good caligraphy. Beautifully illustrated. Complete.

13. Bhāgavata Purāṇa. a specimen of good caligraphy with beautiful illustrations. Complete.

14. Nirukta. An old manuscript on palm leaves. Written in Malayalam characters. Incomplete.

15 Kaśyapasaṁhitā. Subject Astronomy An unknown work.

16. Khacarāgama, a work on Astronomy. Unknown. Complete.

17. Paryāya, a commentary on Brahma-Sūtras, by Vaisnava-kinkara. An unknown work. Complete. About 200 years old.

18. Rājavijaya, a work on Astrology. A rare manuscript.

19. Nidarśana, a commentary on Kāvya Prakāśa. A rare manuscript.

20. Pathyā-Pathya-Nighaṇtu by Kaiyya Deva. A rare manuscript. Incomplete.

HINDI AND PANJABI MANUSCRIPTS.

1. Vadhu Vinoda, by Kālidāsa Trivedī, a famous poet of Hindi. Subject Rhetorics. Only one manuscript is known to exist. Complete.

2. Amara Kosa in Hindi verses (with Panjabi equivalents) by Khemadāsa Choprā of Wazirabad. An unknown work. Date of Author 1541 V. S. Rare and important.

3. Siṁhāsana-Battīsī by Hirakalaśa a Jaina author, written in old Hindi, with Sanskrit verses interposed. Unknown. Complete.

4. Vraja Rāja Vinoda, by Kavi Megh Singh, written in Panjabi Script. This work deals with the History of Sikhs and their Gurus. It was composed in 1895 V. S. Complete.
5. Mānjarītraya, a Hindi poem on the analogy of Bhartṛihari's Nīti Śataka. Author H. H. Savai Partap Singh of Jaipur. Not mentioned in Catalogues. Complete.
6. Rasa Prabodha, a work on Rhetoric by a Muhammadan poet Ghulam Nabi (1741 A D.). In Panjabi Script. Rare manuscript.
7. Gītā, a rendering in Panjābī by Guru Govind Singh. Complete.
8. Rasarahasya by Rājā Rāma Singh of Jaipur. A Hindi translation of Kāvya Prākāśa. A rare manuscript.

LAHORE PUBLIC LIBRARY.

A brief note may be added on the Oriental manuscripts in the Lahore Public Library. There are 328 Sanskrit manuscripts and 305 Persian manuscripts. Most of the latter, which again I leave to Professor Muhammad Shafi for further details, were presented to the Library by Faqir Saiyid Jamaluddin.

Most of the Sanskrit manuscripts were presented by Sardar Attar Singh of Badhaun. They are all modern and none of them seem to be very much out of the ordinary.

The following six have been selected by my pupil Mr. Desh Raj, M.A., as deserving of mention :—

1. Nāga-bhāsā-piṅgala. A work on Prosody. Author Nāgarāja. This is not mentioned in Hindi Catalogues. Seems to be of considerable importance. Complete.
2. Vākya-vāda of Maithila Miśra, with a commentary by Harayośomiśra. This work is a discourse on "What is a sentence"? The subject is treated both logically and philologically. A rare manuscript. Complete.
3. Ratna-dīpikā of Candeśvara. A treatise on precious stones. Seems to be a modern composition. Manuscripts rare. Incomplete.
4. Viśva-karmaprakāśa of Viśva-karma. A treatise on Architectural astrology. Manuscripts rare. Complete.
5. Śaikara-saṃgīta, a work on the analogy of Gīta-Govinda. Author Jainārāyana. Very few manuscripts available. Complete.
6. Śabda-prakāsā of Mādhavarāma. A work on Sanskrit Grammar. Only one manuscript noted by Aufrecht. Contains the first half only.

Among the mass of Sanskrit manuscripts I have indicated there are of course very few that bear directly on History on the narrower sense, none that would come under the category of Historical Records.

Nevertheless from the fact that I have been asked to read a note on these manuscripts leads me to suppose that the collection preservation and cataloguing of manuscripts is germane to the general purposes of this Commission.

There are moreover one or two points of a general character I would venture to emphasise in conclusion.

(1) The amount of work yet to be done in the search for manuscripts and how much can be done by an unofficial organisation.

(2) The credit that is due to those men who have sufficient public spirit and if I may say so, sufficient appreciation of the best interest of their most precious manuscripts, to present them to a University College or Public Library. All honour to donors like the late Professor Muhammad Hussain Azad, Sardar Attar Singh of Badhaun and Faqir Saiyid Jamaluddin.

(3) The University Library is always prepared to house private collections of manuscripts as loan collections for a definite or indefinite number of years. Such manuscripts would remain the property of the Owner, but would be properly looked after and made available for the use of scholars and research students.

(4) One effect of the Great War was to keep down the prices of manuscripts in the Indian market and what is the same thing, to check the export of manuscripts to Germany and other European countries. It has often been suggested to me that Government could place an embargo on the export of Oriental manuscripts as Italy has long done on the export of Art Treasures. The practicability of this suggestion I leave for others to discuss.

The Punjab Record Office and its History.

(By Major H. L. O. Garrett, M.A., I.E.S.)

EARLY WORK ON THE RECORDS.

GENERAL DESCRIPTION OF THE RECORDS THEMSELVES.

Sikh Records.

A brief account.

Early British Records.

The Delhi, Ludhiana and Ambala Agencies, the Agent to the Governor General, North-Western Frontier and the Lahore Residency ranging from 1808 to 1840.

The Delhi papers.

The 1st Afghan war—Official papers and letters of Political Officers.

The Mutiny papers.

The claims for compensation after the Mutiny.

Punjab Departmental Papers:

- Military and Political.
- Judicial.
- Revenue.
- General.

The Marine Department papers.

The Police Department papers.

Papers exhibited in show cases as of special interest.

A brief account of the work actually going on and contemplated.

Possibilities of co-ordination of outside Material for further research.

While our collection of Records in the Punjab is comparatively smaller than that of other Provinces it can at least claim to be housed in the oldest record office in India. The Tomb of Anarkali which contains our Records dates from 1615. It is a lasting memorial to Anarkali, a slave girl employed at the Court of Akbar, possibly a dancer, possibly a mere attendant. Her beauty attracted the passion of Prince Salim and to prevent matters going further Akbar took measures foreign to his easy going nature. He had the girl buried alive. Years passed and the Prince Salim became the Emperor Jahangir. But he did not forget his lost love. Over her remains he reared the stately tomb we see to-day and carved upon her beautiful grave is the inscription:—

"Ah! Could I behold the face of my beloved once more, I would give thanks unto my God until the day of resurrection."

Under Maharaja Ranjit Singh, the Vandal of his day so far historical buildings in the Punjab are concerned, the Tomb was utilized by Sardar Kharak Singh, heir-apparent of the Maharaja Ranjit Singh, but was subsequently given to one of his European Generals (Ventura) to live in. He converted it into a private residence, and it continued to be used as such down to the end of the Sikh Rule.

When the British settled down in Lahore they soon required a Church, and the tomb was granted for the purpose of Divine Service on Sundays. The grave was removed from the centre of the building and the place was converted into a Church. Its consecration took place early in 1857, just before the Mutiny. Dr. Dealtry, Bishop of Madras, performed the ceremony,

John Lawrence, and Robert Montgomery, being among those present; the Church being dedicated to St. James. The increasing congregation led to more accommodation being inserted in the shape of some particularly hideous Victorian galleries, which are now happily no longer there. St. James, as it was called, continued to be the Parish Church and then, with the creation of the Diocese of Lahore, the Pro-Cathedral till 1891, when on the completion of the new Cathedral, it was abandoned and its fittings removed. Traces of its ecclesiastical days are still visible in the perpendicular east window and in certain fragments of that particularly vicious coloured glass so dear to mid-Victorian eyes. After standing empty for some time it was taken over by Government who paid the ecclesiastical authorities a lump sum down for it. It was subsequently converted to its present use.

It is interesting to note in this connection that our Record Office and the Public Record Office in Chancery Lane have a common bond. The large Museum which forms part of the Chancery Lane buildings is also a desecrated Church. It is the old Rolls Chapel and was built by Henry III for converted Jews whose Ghetto was not far away.

Little or no attention seems to have been given to the sorting or preservation of the Records at first. Some were pitched into Almarahs. Some were thrown down, tied up in jharans, and left to their fate. But in recent years they have seen better treatment. The late Mr. Raynor was put in charge of them and under his care press-listing of all documents were commenced and the process of weeding out rubbish initiated. Mr. Raynor also published a number of volumes of selections from the Agencies and Mutiny papers. Financial stringency caused further publication and press-listing to stop. Colonel Raynor Goulding carried on the work of weeding and completed a short catalogue of the principal sections. Then the axe of economy fell on his labours also. The Record Office being now nobody's child fell into a deplorable state of confusion and dirt. When I visited it, early in 1923, it was filled with broken furniture and other rubbish and it was exceedingly difficult to find any thing. I asked Sir Edward Maclagan to allow me to tidy up the place and he gladly consented to my doing so. This early informal connection led in 1925, to my official appointment as Keeper of the Records with a staff headed by M. Sardar Khan, late Head Record Keeper of the Secretariat, who possesses a truly wonderful knowledge of the Records. Indeed without his aid I could not have carried on the work. During the intervening two years I was occupied in tidying up. The records were rearranged in an accessible manner and properly labelled, and show cases were introduced for the more interesting papers. The building was put into repair and the generosity of Government permitted me to purchase a number of suitable historical pictures, while Sir Edward Maclagan presented a number of others. So much for the past. Of the actual work going on to-day I will speak later. I now turn to a brief description of the Records themselves.

The Sikh Records.

These Records popularly known as the Dina Nath Records—from the well-known Minister of the Sikh Durbar—were formerly kept in the Persian Secretariat but have been lately transferred to us. I will deal with them very briefly. I must however mention 16 most interesting manuscript volumes which came to light in this connection. They are at present under examination and consist of a heterogeneous jumble of copies of office orders, official letters, payment orders, etc. When properly examined they should throw an interesting light on Ranjit Singh's administration. The books have been badly damaged by white-ants but we are taking measures to preserve them in air tight cases.

British Records.

Our oldest British records date from 1808-1849 and consist of manuscript volumes of letters, the Delhi, Ambala and Ludhiana Agencies, the Agent to the Governor General, North-Western Frontier and the Lahore Residency. Some of these have already appeared in the volumes edited by Mr. Raynor, the late Chief Superintendent of the Punjab Civil Secretariat. They are of great interest particularly the Ochterlony correspondence and the correspondence relative to the Afghan War. These are in book form, the receipts being in one book and the issues in another.

The 1st Afghan War.

The letters relative to the latter occupy a large number of volumes in the Lahore Agency series. They give a very clear idea of the precarious position of the British on the Frontier after the death of Ranjit Singh in 1839. There are several letters from General Avitable in this connection and his services to the British at this time should not be forgotten. But for his stern hold on the mutinous Sikh troops at Peshawar our lines of communication must have been completely severed. Our Afghan war papers are completed by three bulky files of demi-official letters from George Lawrence, Macgragor, MacKeson and the other Political Officers on the frontier. Some of these are copies and some originals. Kaye apparently had access to some of them when he wrote his history of the war but not to others and I feel convinced, that, in the light of the cursory examination, I have had time to make, much of the history of that time needs re-writing. One very interesting document in this series is the account of his experiences written by a Sergeant Major who was a Survivor of the retreat from Kabul. He got nearly as far as Dr. Brydon, the sole survivor to reach Jalalabad, before he was captured and his story gives a gruesome picture of the sufferings of the Troops. I hope to publish it shortly.

The Delhi Papers.

The Delhi papers form an interesting group and are mainly concerned with the Kings of Delhi and their relations with the British Resident. We were able with the aid of these papers to disprove some highly fallacious theories as to the King's position in later days which appeared in the Royal Historical Society's Journal two years ago. These papers also deal with the disposal of the number of small states round Delhi which were forfeited by their rulers on account of their treachery at the time of Mutiny. There is also nearly a hundredweight of correspondence relative to the litigation between the heirs of the famous Begum Sombre and the British Government. The latter had taken over the Begum's jagir on her death, and her heirs litigated for its recovery for some 30 years ending up with an unsuccessful appeal to the Privy Council.

The Mutiny Papers.

The Mutiny papers have as far as possible been separated off by abstracting them from various departments in which they were filed, and I have recently published a special press-list of them. They are of extraordinary interest, particularly the telegrams. The progress of the siege of Delhi can be read from day to day in the series of telegrams sent to John Lawrence and the extraordinary resourcefulness of the district officers in improvising means to suppress the mutineers is very striking.

A large section of the Mutiny papers is devoted to compensation claims Many of the latter were of the 'Don Pacifico' order but Richard Temple who was placed on special duty for the purpose dealt them very short shift and a 'bedstead valued 150' is whittled down by him to Rs. 10.

Departmental Papers.

We now come to the Departmental papers and I may here remark that our Records are divided into two sections. The lower floor contains all the older ones and 1885 may be taken as the limit of what we call the historical section. Upstairs are our modern current printed records. Of the Departmental papers four series, Political, Revenue, Judicial and General are continuous from 1849 to the present day and call for no special comment. Two other series represent departments which have now ceased to be. One is the Military Department which came to an end in 1886, when the Lieutenant-Governor ceased to be Commander-in-Chief of the Frontier Force and the latter was absorbed in the ordinary army. The 2nd Afghan War papers are in this Department.

Marine Department.

The other is the Marine Department. This latter lasted till 1872, when the opening of the Railway made an end of it. It was directed by a Captain

of the Royal Navy with his Headquarters at Sukkur. The Captains of the ships were petty officers from the Royal Navy and the Engineers were whatever could be got. The latter were a drunken and insubordinate lot judging by the frequent complaints about them. There is an invention of the belongings of one of them who fell over board while drunk and was drowned. His belongings apparently consisted of 'a cap and 15 clay pipes.'

Show Case.

Some of the more interesting documents are displayed for the public (who have access to the tomb, as a public monument, at all times). Among these may be mentioned the death warrant of the last Nawab of Ferozepur, Raja Dina Nath's will witnessed by the two Lawrences' letters written in Greek character during the Mutiny and autographs of the Lawrences, Nicholson, Montgomery, and many others.

Miscellaneous and Confidential.

There is also a miscellaneous section containing a number of files—some of them of great interest—and a confidential section containing papers not ordinarily accessible to the public.

Present Work.

I now turn to the work actually going on in the Record Office to-day. I mentioned earlier in this paper that press-listing had been begun but was stopped for want of funds. This work has now been resumed. During the past years I have press-listed the proceedings of the Judicial Department from 1859-1868 and the volume is just published. I have yet to complete the Press-lists for the Revenue, General and Political Departments for the same period. After 1868 proceedings were printed so that when I have finished this work we shall have our records continuous from 1849 to the present day. The process of weeding goes on simultaneously with that of press-listing and we have been able to discard some maunds of useless papers many of which need never have been preserved for such a length of time. Apart from this work we are called upon to supply, like any other Record Office, almost daily information to the various Government Offices and to the general public (who are allowed access to the Records at the discretion of the Keeper and under certain simple rules). Some of our enquiries are of an amusing nature. Witness a reference from our Ambassador in Constantinople on behalf of a certain lady who claimed land in the Punjab. She claimed to be the descendant of an alleged brother of Sh. Imam-ud-Din, the last Sikh Governor of Kashmir. Her story was that her ancestor had been sent by his brother on an embassy to the Czar with a

present of two elephants, a nice handy little offering to take from Kashmir to Petrograd. On his arrival he had been well received by the Czar who had given him land near Czar Kove Seloe. Unfortunately for the lady we were able to make a reference to the descendants of Sh. Imam-ud-Din who are living in Lahore when it was discovered that the Shaikh had no brother.

Co-ordination.

This reference leads me on to a point on which I believe the Commission have already expressed an opinion, *viz.*, that desirability of co-ordinating records throughout the Province. Apart from a mass of valuable material lying buried at the different district headquarters, there are a number of private libraries of the contents of which we know nothing. The owner of a private library in the Punjab is often a very shy bird and is not inclined to tell us exactly what papers he has in his possession. I think we should endeavour to impress upon such people that it is a public duty which they owe to the cause of learning that they should let us know if they possess documents of value to which a reference might be made if need arises. As you now see to-day from the collection we have been able to show you some gentlemen are only too willing to help. But there are others.

Further Research.

Our final point. When I first began looking at our records I did not contemplate becoming their official Keeper. I went there primarily as a teacher of History to find material for myself and my post graduate students. But I soon found that without proper arrangement I could do nothing. Hence the present position in which I find myself. I am glad to say that we are now in a position to facilitate original work in many fields. This has already been taken advantage of. Articles on the Mutiny papers have appeared in the press. Mr. Grey, in collaboration with myself, has unearthed a very large amount of hitherto concealed details relative to the early European adventurers in the North of India and we hope shortly to publish the result. Mr. Zafar Ali is working on the Manuscript books of the Sikh Durbar to which I referred earlier.

Also there are the post graduate students. Our University requires an original thesis from a candidate for the M. A. History degree. For some time the subjects chosen have been of a very stock nature. Recently I have been to get this changed and the students are now expected to write on a subject within the period of our records. Some students are already at work and I am hopeful that with the increased facilities we shall be able to build up a school of Historical Research which will produce monographs equally as valuable to the advancement of learning as those already emanating from the Science Laboratories of Lahore.

A short summary of the Notes on Persian and Arabic Manuscripts.

(By Prof. Muhammad Shafi, M.A.)

The total number of Arabic and Persian manuscripts exhibited in connection with the present (eighth) session of the Indian Historical Records Commission is about 136. The original collections, about a dozen in number, which they represent comprise of about 5000 Volumes and yet most of these collections have hitherto been more or less unknown to the general public even in Lahore!

In the following pages I have briefly described some 58 out of the total 136 manuscripts exhibited. Of these the oldest in point of time is a volume of the *Qánún*[1] of Bú Alí Sína dated A. H. 669. An undated copy of the *Qoran*[2] in Ta'liq probably belongs to the next century. Seven manuscripts come from the 9th century *viz.*, the *Hasht Dawáwín*[3] (849), the *Khamsa*[4] of Nizámí (865), two *Sháh Námahs*,[5] the *Rubai'yát*[6] of Khayyám (868), *al-Futúḥátal-Makkíya*[7] (868), and two copies of the Sharafnameh[8] of Yazdí. The tenth century is represented by at least two manuscripts *viz.*, the *Díwán of Ḥasan*[9] (948), and *Rauḍatul-Aḥbáb*[10] (925). About half a dozen come from the 11th century.

Some of the items belonged at one time or the other to the following famous Indian Libraries of the Mughal period :—

1. The Library[11] of Salímah Sulṭán Begam (a wife of Akbar).
2. The Imperial Library[12] of the Mughals.
3. The Library[13] of the Quṭub Sháhs of Deccan.
4. The Library[14] of 'Abdur Raḥím Khán-i-Khánan.
5. The Library[15] of Sulṭán Moḥammad Ṣafaví (the last Safavid king of Persia).
6. The Library[16] of Mír'Abd al-Jalíl Bilgrámí.

The *Makhzan-i-Afghání*[17] and the *Kulliyát*[18] of Muḥammad Qulí Salím are specially interesting as claimed to be autograph copies and the "*Statistical account of Kashmir*"[19] Mir'at ul-Madhāhib (No. 35) and Mukhammasát (No. 45) because supposed to be unique or very rare, which remark also applies to Nos. 5, 14, 28-30 and 58. The following copies are of peculiar interest as transcribed by famous caligraphers :—

Name of book.	*Name of Scribe.*
1. Duwalrání Khidarkhán[20]	Sulṭán Báyazid Dawrí
2. Díwán Ḥasan[21]	Ḥasan Moḥammad, Ḥasan, Shírází
3. Hasht Dawáwín[22]	Humám-al-Munshi al-Murshidí
4. 'Ajá'ib al-Buldán[23]	Moḥd 'Alí Munajjam
5. Díwán Marví[24]	Mír 'Alí Tibrízí (?)

[1] No. 59. [2] No. 41. [3] No. 2. [4] No. 4. [5] Nos. 27 & 44. [6] No. 61. [7] No. 60. [8] Nos. 47 & 48. [9] No. 3. [10] No. 36. [11] No. 1. [12] Nos. 1 & 28. [13] No. 28. [14] Nos. 2 & 25. [15] see Nos. 29 & 31. [16] No. 60. [17] No. 6. [18] No. 12. [19] No. 9. [20] No. 1. [21] No. 3 [22] No. 2. [23] No. 25. [24] No. 5.

Several copies have remarks in the handwriting of famous men such as 'Abd al-Rahím Khán Khánán,[25] Sulṭán Muḥammad Quṭub Sháh,[26] Moḥammad 'Alí Khán Matín Kashmírí[27] and Mír 'Abd al-Jalíl Bilgrámí[28]. Nos. 47 and 48 offer a good text of *Sharaf Nameh.* No. 61 (Rubá'iyat) needs further examination but it is likely to prove of special interest.

Notes on some Persian and Arabic Manuscripts exhibited in connection with the eighth Session of the Indian Historical Records Commission, and a brief account of the collections from which they come.

(1) KAPURTHALA STATE MANUSCRIPTS.

The State Library possesses a valuable collection of Oriental Manuscripts out of which 287 are in Persian, but there is also a large number in Arabic. The Persian Manuscripts of this collection have been ably catalogued by Professor Maitra.

The following ten volumes represent this collection. A detailed description of these splendid Manuscripts is not necessary, as Professor Maitra's printed catalogue is available for reference along with the exhibits.

1. Khusrow's *Duwalráni Khiḍar Khán,*[29] transcribed by Sulṭán Báyazíd b. Mír Nizám Dawrí, a famous caligraphist of Akbar's Court. A very luxurious Manuscript with a finely executed, illuminated frontispiece, tinted margins adorned with golden designs and two full page paintings (one a fairy scene).

Sháh Jahán's Seal[30] at the end and a note possibly by Sháh Jahán[31] which shows that it belonged to the Library of Salímah Sulṭán Begum, a wife of Akbar and herself a poetess.[32] The Manuscript is marked as a second class Manuscript of Sháh Jahán's Library !

2. *Works* of the following *eight poets*[33] in one volume :

Ghazals of Rúmí.

Asrár Námah of 'Attár.

Díwáns of Salmán and Khwájú.

Ghazals of Awḥadí and 'Iráqí.

Khusrow Shírín of Nizámí.

Muqaṭṭa'át of Ibn Yamín.

Transcribed by Humám al-Munshi al-Murshadí in A.H. 849. Excellent copy; once in the Library of Khán Khánan 'Abdur Rahím, who presented it to Barkhurdár-i-'Abdur Raḥmán, Khán-i-'Alam.[34] The latter has left in the book a note to this effect.

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[25] See Nos. 2 and 25. [26] see No 28. [27] see No. 14. [28] see No. 60.

[29] Catalogue No. 111.

[30] There are also seals on it of several Amirs connected with the household of Jehángír, Sháh Jahán and 'Alamgír *e.g.*, I'tiqád Khán, I'timad Khán, and 'Ináyat Khán.

[31] *Cf.* a photograph of his writing appended to Bankipur catalogue, end of Vol. III. [32] Blochmann A'in p. 309. [33] Catalogue No. 139. [34] The Manuscript bears several seals of the Amirs of Shahjahnn, but not of Shahjahan.

3. *Díwán-i-Ḥasan*[35] *Dehlaví* transcribed by Ḥasan Moḥammad, Ḥasan, of Shíráz in 948.

4. *The Khamsa of Nizámi.*[36] Transcribed in 865. 13 Miniature paintings, in several of which the faces have been rubbed out. The first leaf supplied later.

5. *Díwán of Khwája Ḥusain Marví.*[37] The poet, who was a descendant of the famous Saint 'Alá al-Dawlah Simnání, was a courtier of Humáyún, and later of Akbar. He was allowed by the latter to return to his country in A.H. 979. He died in Kábul soon after.[38]

This copy which is written in superb Nasta'líq, does not contain the name of the scribe. Two notes added in modern times ascribe it to Mír 'Alí Tíbrízí,[39] — with what justification, I am unable to say.

6. *Táríkh Khánjáháni wa Makhzan al-Afgháni*[40] of Ni'matulláh b. Ḥabíbullah of Hirát, claimed to be an autograph of the author.

7. *Riyáḍ al-Inshá*[41] by Khwája Maḥmúd Gáwán. Transcribed in 1058.

8 *Mahábhárat.*[42]—The name of scribe and the date of transcription not given. 12th Century manuscript. Written in small, clear Nasta'líq ; numerous miniature paintings.

9. *A Statistical Account of Kashmir*[43] in the Sikh period. A huge volume by (or rather prepared for) Col. Míhán Singh.

10. Sher Singh Namah.[44]

(2)—Díwán Bahádur Rája Narendra Náth's Collection.

This collection has been inherited by the Rája Sahib from his illustrious ancestors, who held high offices at Maharajah Ranjit Singh's court from 1813 onwards. It is said to have consisted of about 700 manuscripts. Those that I inspected this month (Nov., 1925) numbered about 300. The collection is particularly rich in Persian poetry ; there are also valuable works on History. Out of these, thirteen Persian Manuscripts are exhibited. They are as follows :—

Poetry.

11. A copy of the *Shah Namah*, transcribed in 1017 for Amír Beg, son of Rustam Sultán سرلاری, Governor of Kirmán c. 1037. See *Alam Arai-Abbasi*, (p. 762). The scribe is Ibráhím b. Sháh Mahmúd Simnání.

[Written in Nasta'líq, in 4 columns to the page ; ff. 478 (some leaves supplied later). Size 13"×8" ; ll. 29 ; illuminated *sarlawḥ* and 42 miniatured paintings in Persian style.]

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[35] Catalogue No. 116. [36] Catalogue No. 71.
[37] Catalogue No. 144. [38] A'in (Biblioth, Indica Series) 247, Badá'úní (B. I. Series) III 176.
[39] Not to be confounded in any case with the inventor of Nasta'líq who was a contemporary of Timur. There was a painter of this name at Akbar's court, who was also a calligraphist, *cf.* Bada'úni III, 110, 211.
[40] Catalogue No. 36. [41] Ibid No. 206. [42] Ibid. No. 226. [43] Ibid. No. 20. [44] Catalogue No. 19.

12. *Díwán Muhammad Qulí Salím*—This fine copy claims to be an autograph of the poet Mírza Muhammad Qulí Salím of Tehrán (see f. 57*a*) who came to India in the time of Sháh Jahán and died in Kashmír in 1057 (1647-48) and was buried at the foot of Takht-i-Sulemán[45].

The present copy has numerous marginal additions. The contents appear to be on the whole similar to those of the copy in the Bankipur Library [46] but the arrangement is different.

[ff. 385 ; ll. 14, size 9¾"×4¾" Shikasta Amez. Not dated.]

13. *Díwán Athar.*—This copy of the Díwán of Shafí'á the blind poet of Shíráz who died in 1113 (or 1124 according to others) is interesting, on account of a note in it written and signed by Mukhliṣ who is probably identical with the famous scholar Rai Rayán Anand Ram Mukhliṣ of Lahore (d. 1164). The contents of the Díwán agree with those of the Bodleian copy (Ethe's catalogue col. 707).

[Undated ; 12th cent. ff. 110, size 8¾"×5¼", 11. 14.].

14. *Díwán Murshid Burújirdí*—Murshid Qulí Khán of Burújird (in Persia) came to India in the reign of Akbar and lived for a time at the court of Mírza Ghází Tarkhán, governor of Sind, and later at the court of Jehángír[47]. He died in 1080. His Díwán is very rare. This copy was in 1162 in the possession of Mohammed 'Alí Khán Matín Kashmírí, the author of *Hayát-ul-Shu'ará*[48] who has left a note to that effect in the book[49].

Contents. *f.* 1*b*—3*a* A Qasída.
f. 3*b*—48*b* Ghazals in alphabetical order.
f. 49*b*—59*b* Chronograms.
f. 60*a*—80*a* Rubá'ís.
f. 80*b*—83*b* Miscellaneous poems.
f. 48*a*—86*b* Rubá'ís.

[ff. 86 11. 12 to 15 ; size 7½" × 4½" original old binding (12th century)].

Prose.

15. *Zád-ul-Musáfirín.*—This is a work in Persian prose on "Rules of religious life illustrated by anecdotes and fables"[50] by Amir, Husainí Sádát of Ghúr, who came to Multan and became a disciple of Rukn-ud-Dín b. Bahá-ud-Dín Zakriyyá. He died in Herat in 718.

[ff. 68, ll. 11, size 6"×4¾" Transcribed in 1026. Small Nasta'líq, somewhat faded *Serlauh* ; Gold-ruled margins. The eight Maqalas into which the book is divided are clearly marked. Some leaves in a later hand.]

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[45] Sarw-i-Ázád (Haidarabad, 1913) p. 64. [46] Bankipur Catalogue Vol. III p. 89.

[47] Sarw-i-Ázád p. 39. A full account of the life of Murshid is given in *Maikhána* of 'Abdul Nabí Khán (edited by me and now in the Press).

[48] See *Khizána 'Ámira* (Cawnpur, 1871) P. 6 referred to also in J. R. A. S. IX. 170.

[49] The Díwán is not complete. Several verses quoted in the Tadhkiras are not traceable in it and the *Saqi Namah* given in the *Maikhana* has also been omitted. [50] Rieu p. 608,

16. *Al-Jawahir-al-Thamina*—A Collection of moral Precepts, selected from the works of Abdulláh Ansarí, Sayed Husaini, Sa'dí, Jámí, and others by 'Alí b. Ḥussám-ud-Din-ul-Muttaqí[51] of Jaunpúr (d. 975).

The present copy is a good one, well preserved and written in a beautiful hand on gold besprinkled paper, within gold-ruled margins with a finely executed illuminated frontispiece. The work is rare.

[Undated; probably 11th century.
ff. 73. size 9″×5½″, ll. 11.]

History.

17. *Khálṣa Námah.*—This is a well-known History of the Sikhs from their origin to A. H. 1222-1807 which is one of the authorities followed by Malcolm in his "Sketch of the Sikhs"[52]. The author Bakht Mal was the father of Rájá Día Náth[53]. He was a Hindú not a Sikh as stated by Rieu.

This copy was transcribed by one Jawáhar Singh for Díwán Gangá Rám (d. 1826).

(ff. 131, size 8″×4¾″ ll. 11.)

18. *Khális Námah.*—A history of the Sikhs from their origin to the accession of Rája Dalíp Singh in Mágh Sambat 1900 (=A. H. 1259[54]) by Ráyzada Ratanchand Bál[55] son of Râyzada Sálamat Rai of Kulyána in Dánkli, a Munshi of the Chiefs of Atárí. The work does not seem to be commonly known. This copy was transcribed for the author in Sambat 1903[56].

[ff. 170, size 10″×6″, ll. 17. Begins زهی شکر و ثنای بارگاه نقش بند]

19. *Qarniya.*—Described by Rieu (p. 261) and Elliot (VII 74) under the name *Mulakhkhas* which does not occur in this copy. This is a history of the first thirty years of the reign of Sháh Jahán, abridged by Muḥammad Ṭáhir Áshná, Ináyat Khán (died in Kashmír in 1081) mainly from Bádsháh Namah.

This copy comes only up to 1045 (the 9th year of Sháh Jáhán's reign). Written in a clear hand, with marginal rubrics and occasional summaries (by Dilshád Pursurúrí).

(Undated: ff. 230, size 11″×6½″, ll. 19.)

20. *Jámi'al-Tawárikh* of Rashíd al-Dín Fadlullah (vol. 2 only) The *Jámi*, is a general history of all the peoples and nations of the world compiled from their own traditions, in 3 volumes, the third of which has not yet been found.

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[51] For his life see Rieu p. 356 a.

[52] Rieu p. 294. The name of Bakht Mal occurs on p. 4 of the Sketch (Calcutta 1846.) [53] Lál Singh, whom he mentions in his introduction seems to be the individual who is mentioned in the Punjab Chiefs (Urdu Version vol. I. p. 455) as having recommended Diwan Ganga Ram to Ranjit Singh.

[54] 1843 of the Christian era.

[55] Bal is his nickname. We learn from him that one of his ancestors was Raizada Dunichand "whose Hindi and Persian verses were well-known to all."

[56] =A. H. 1263 or A.C. 1846.

Vol. 2 is less common of the two known to exist and of it nothing has yet been published. In the introduction we are told by Ḥáfiz Abrú (not mentioned therein by name) that in A. H. 828=1424-5 he prepared a new edition of the *Jámi'* and replaced a portion at the beginning of the work by the first part of his own Zubdat ut-Tawáríkh,[57] with the approval of Sháh Rukh.

[This copy is written in a clear hand in small Nasta'liq, with rubrics, gold-ruled margins, illuminated frontispiece ff. 413 size 10″×6″, 11. 25. Undated : probably 11th century.]

21. *Lubb al-Tawárikh.*—This well-known work is "an abridgment of general history from the earliest times to A. H. 948"[58] by Yaḥyá b. 'Abdul Latíf Qazwíní (d. 962).

This copy is not dated ; apparently 12th century.

[ff. 125, size 15″×9″, ll. 21].

22. *A Collection of Chronograms.*—Called in the India Office Catalogue of Persian Manuscripts (No. 2731) تاریخ تولد و وفات پادشاهان and described there as "a very valuable and trustworthy collection of historical dates from the birth of Tímúr in 736 to 1144." The name of the author is not known.

[The scribe of this copy has the peculiar habit of combining different words together in writing. Rubrications ; undated, ff. 97, size 9″×5½″, 11. 14.]

23. *Mir'at al-'Álam.*—A general History from the earliest times to A.H. 1078, published in the name of Muḥammad Bakhtáwar Khán, a eunuch in the service of Aurangzíb, but really the work of Muḥammad Baqá (see Rieu p. 890).

This carefully written copy is defective at the end, and some of the leaves are missing at other places, as appears from the catch words.

[ff. 472 ll. 19, size 12″×8¼″]

(3)—Professor Maḥmúd[59] Shairání's Collection.

This collection consists of nearly one thousand manuscripts, mostly Persian. The following exhibits represent this collection.

24. 18 Farmáns, one of Akbar, sixteen of the time of Aurangzíb and one of the time of Muḥammad Sháh, in five series, relating to grant of land mostly in the Punjab, to *Ulama* or their relations. The Farmán of Akbar bears his seal dated 969, two *farmans* of the time of Aurangzíb the seals of Sadr al-Ṣudúrs with the *Tughra* of their court and most of the rest, the seals of two officers of the Emperor. Summaries of the contents are given in Persian separately.

25. The first leaf (with *sarlawh* cut out), of the *'Ajá'ib-al-Buldan* transcribed by Mullá Muḥammad 'Ali Munajjam, with a note by 'Abdul-Rahím Khán-Khanán. From 'Abdal-Rahím's Library the work passed into that of Sháh Jahán. Several seals of the period. The original had ten miniature paintings, according to a note on the first page.

[57] This part deals with pre-Muslim History or as the editor puts it with the period, from Adam to the beginning of the life of the Prophet.

[58] Rieu 104. The author's name occurs in the narrative of events for the year 885, apparently not noticed by Rieu, see l. c.

[59] The Professor is on the staff of Islamia College, Lahore.

26. Painting apparently of a European lady, with a specimen of caligraphy on the back, signed by one 'Abdal-Qádir at Akbarábád.

Persian and Arabic Manuscripts.

Persian.

27. *Sháhnámah*[60].—A remarkable copy with the earlier (pre-Báisunghar Díbáchá),[61] written in an earlier form of Nasta'líq with ten miniature paintings showing influences of the Moghul School. Illuminated frontispiece, inscribed with Kúfic letters and two *Sarlawhs*. Undated; but probably 9th century.

A previous owner, named Majd al-Dín of Baḥrain endorsed it at the end in A. H. 941, another of the same place in 945. On the first page is an endorsement dated A. H. 1052. The folios as numbered are 354.

Written in four columns, and on the margin. Each page has 25×2 verses in the *Matn*, and 22 verses on the *hashiya*. Bound in green velvet.

28. *Ikhtiyárát-i-Quṭub Sháhí*—An annotated edition of the Ikhtiyárát-i-Badí'í, a famous work on the materia medica by 'Alí b. Ḥusain otherwise known as Ḥájí Zain-al-Dín 'Attár (d. 806).

The annotator who later wrote his name himself on the margin as Muḥammad[62] ......b. 'Alí al-Ḥusain, explains that he prepared the edition in collaboration with other medical men, under the orders of Muḥammad Qulí Quṭub Sháh, the ruler of Golconda (r. 988—1020) whose seal the work bears. His annotations mainly relate to verification of the statements of the author by collating them with the original authorities quoted. Apparently only the first part of the work dealing with simple medicines has been so treated.

Prefixed to the text is a 'Fihrist' of the work, *i.e.*, a brief glossary of the medicines described in the text, written by another scribe Mas'ud by name.

This copy, apparently unique, is interesting in several ways :—

(*a*) The scribe of the text is Majd al-Dín Muḥammad al-Ḥusainí of Káshán (c. 1004), an eminent scholar a copy of whose work *Zínat al-Majális*[63] is preserved in the British Museum.

(*b*) On the first page of the text, as of the *Fihrist*, there are brief descriptive notes[64] from the pen and over the signature of Sulṭán Muḥammad Quṭub Sháh (r. 1020—1035), the successor of Muḥammad Qulí, and further supported by his seals.

(*c*) The work was at one time in the Library of 'Álamgír and bears several *Araḍdidahs* and seals of nobles.[65]

[pp. 40+419; size 9½″×5″; ll. 21; Nasta'líq; two illuminated frontispieces.]

[60] All these endorsements are covered up by the binder, with gummed paper.

[61] Written in A. H. 829.

[62] One word rubbed out after Muḥammad. [63] Rieu p. 758. The *Nisbah* is given distinctly as

الحسينى الكاشاني

(not Ḥasaní, as in Rieu). Rieu's conjecture that he was of Kashan, is confirmed by Majd al-Dín's own signature.

[64] One dated 1 (?) XII. 1024.

[65] *e.g.* Maimanat Khán, Kifáyat Khán (3 seals), Qábil Khán, Arshad Khán, etc.

29-31. *Two Albums of Persian Poetry.* The selections are by Nawwab Banda-i ʻ Alí Khán Niʻmatulláhí Básiṭí[66]. The smaller one has a note of the compiler, giving its date of completion as 1163. The larger one has another note by him dated A.H. 1159, mentioning the sources from which[67] the selections are taken, also the fact that he presented the copy to Sharíf Ḥasan Khán. The smaller work is divided into four books (fasl) according to the classes to which the poets belonged, *viz.* :—

Book 1. Sufis.

„ 2. Scholars.

„ 3. Kings, etc. (in seven sections *viz.*, the *Ṣafavís ;* Kings of Gílan ; the descendants of Tímúr ; Kings of Deccan ; other kings ; relatives and connections of the *Ṣafavís* ; and Sadars, Vazirs, Amirs, Physicians, Contemporaries.

Book 4. Ancient Poets (Kháqání to Súzaní)[68].

The larger one has the same headings but omits "physicians" and "contemporaries" under Book IV and adds a Book V on Important Later Poets (from Ahlí to Ṣáʻib). Some names are common to both albums under these headings, but the verses selected are different, as far as I have seen. No other copies of these albums are known to me. This copy belonged in 1211 to Sulṭán Muḥammad Mírzá Ṣafawí, the last Safawid King who was then living in exile at Lucknow, as a pensioner of the East India Company.[69]

Beside these albums there is a copy of *Díwán-i-Thábit*[70] in this collection edited by Banda-i-ʻAlí in 1163, as we learn from his own endorsement on the first page.

32. *Qaṣá'id Mukhtárí.* This is a good copy of the Qasídas of the Ghaznavid poet Othmán Mukhtárí[71] (d. 544 or 554). Defective at the end. Illuminated *Sarlawḥ ;* gold-ruled columns, undated. It bears the seal of one Ábdur Raḥím dated 1028. Several other seals have been rubbed out.

33. *Sháhid-i-Ṣádiq.* A huge collection of miscellaneous extracts in Persian of the type found in works of *adab* such as the *ʻIqd-al-Faríd*, arranged in 5 books (báb) and a *Khátima*, under various headings, by Ṣádiq b. Ṣálih called Iṣfaháni though born and brought up in India. He began this work in 1054.

This copy is written in a clear but ordinary hand.

[ff. 626, size 11″ × 7,″ ll. 17 ; not dated.]

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[66] "Son of Nawwáb ʻIzzat Khán Ṣalábat Jang and the grandson نبیسه of Sher Afgan Khán Ṣafdar Jang" (a note on this album). The compiler signs his name as

بندہ علی

[67] The sources are mainly the Byáḍ of Mírzá Ṣáʻib, Kashkol of ʻÁmilí, and the album of ʻAbd al-Báqí Nahávandí.

[68] The smaller album is comprised of selections from Ghazals, Qit'ahs and to a smaller extent from Qasidas (Band-i-Alí's note). [69] See Rieu p. 133. [70] For Thábit see Rieu p. 709 where a copy of the Díwán is noticed, with a similar endorsement. The present copy was presented to one Nisar Alí Khan,

[71] For him see Rieu 542 a.—The seal of ʻAbd al-Raḥím has the follwing inscription :—

تاکه بود دور فلک مستقیم سایه حق بادبه عبد الرحیم

34. An *Anonymous work* on general History, from the old Persian Kings to about 950,[72] marked by the owner as *Khulásatul-Tawáríkh* but agreeing with no work of this name known to me. The divisions agree more or less with those of Lubbat-Tawáríkh but it is not that work.

Written in a delightfully unaffected style, and containing a useful section on Calligraphers.

[ff 294. Defective at the beginning and the end. Size 9½″×7″, ll. 17 ; Nasta'líq, undated.]

35. *Mir'at-al-Madháhib*—A general history of the religious and philosophical creeds of the world, written in India about a century [73] ago by an author whose name cannot be found as this copy is defective at the beginning and at the end. The author[74] claims to have followed the original sources. For the same reason he acquired a knowledge of Sanskrit and English, and associated with those who professed particular religions in order to find out their beliefs. The work is divided into ten parts (Maqála) as follows :—

f. 7	Maqala	1. Philosophers.
f. 96 b.	,,	2. Sects of Islam.
f. 191 b.	,,	3. Some Pre-Islamic and Post-Islamic sects of Arabia and Islamic countries (12 sects in all, dealt with in 5 chapters.)
f. 202 b.	,,	4. The Ancient Greeks and Romans and other European peoples.
f. 205 b.	,,	5. Christians.
f. 277 b.	,,	6. Jews.
f. 285 b.	,,	7. Zoroastrians.
f. 330 b.	,,	8. Hindus (with nine sections on the Creeds of the Kaljug).
f. 430 a.	,,	9. Religions of China, Cathay, Tartary and Turkestan.
f. 460 a.	,,	10. Religions of Africa.

The author used the *Dabistán*,[75] but the scope of his work is much more extensive.

This copy has been considerably damaged by worms.

[ff. 464 size 9″×5″, ll. 17 ; Nasta'líq, carelessly written copy].

36. *Rawdat-al-Ahbáb* (Vol. I only).—This work on sacred history was written by the greatest divine of Herát in the time of Sultán Husain, *viz.*, 'Atá Alláh b. Fadl Alláh Jamál al-Husainí (alive in 930)[76].

This carefully collated copy was transcribed in A. H. 935, and has marginal notes, apparently from the same author.

[ff. 398 ; size 9¾″×7″ ; ll. 25 ; Naskh ; *Sarlawh* ; a diagram on p. 74 ; old binding].

37. *Majmá-al-Hasanát.*—An anonymous collection of the biographies of the Prophets from Adam to Muhammad, with a brief account of the reign of the orthodox Caliphs. The contents slightly differ from those indicated in the India Office copy (No. 593 in Ethe's Catalogue). The title of the work is not given in the book. Not dated ; Naskh ; seal of an Amír of Aurangzíb's Court at the end.

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[72] The last Tímuríd mentioned is Badí-al-Zaman son of Sultan Husain who died in 913 but 950 occurs on f. 94 b.

[73] See f. 429 a—where the Author refers to his visit to Bengal in 1803, f. 416 b. where Ranjit Singh is referred to as a contemporary and ff. 162 b and 160 b where Sháh 'Abdul 'Azíz of Delhi and Mawlaví Ismá'íl are mentioned. [74] He is probably a Shí'a. [75] See f. 328 a. [76] See Rieu 147 a.

Arabic.

38. *Al-Futúḥát al-Makkiya.*—A fine copy of the first volume of the famous work of Ibn al-' Arabí.

[ff. 429, size , ll. 35, small Naskh ; illuminated frontispiece rubrics, marginal notes (signed by Sa'íd) and corrections ; a carefully corrected copy undated ; late 9th century.]

39. *Kashkul.*—A volume of extracts mainly from Arabic works of *Adab* (prose and poetry) with a few extracts from Persian poets. The compiler is Bahá al-Dín ' Amilí (d. 1030).

This volume is divided into five parts.[77]

This copy was transcribed in Shíráz[78] in 1049-1050.

[ff. 244 ; size 10½″ × 6½″ ; ll. vary ; Nasta'líq ; there is a Sarlawh at the beginning of each of the five parts ; several thirteenth century red seals of the Nawabs of Oudh].

40. *Quran.*—A fine copy, undated, ; 10th century.

(4)—Rai Sahib Wazir Chand's Collection.

The exact number of works in this collection of Persian, Arabic and Sanskrit Manuscripts[79] at Jhang cannot be given but it easily runs into several hundred. The following five Manuscripts have come from this Collection :—

41. *Qorán.*—A luxurious copy, written in letters of gold and adorned with geometrical designs on the margin. Written in Talíq, with Kúfic in the margins, Undated ; 8th Century.

42. *Qorán.*—A fine copy transcribed in Mecca, in A.H. 1080 by Hájí Muḥammad b. Ḥáfiẓ of Hirát. The copyist has so arranged the lines that they always begin with an *alif*, except in the first line of a page. Written in small *Naskh ;* with illuminated pages at the beginning and at the end.

43. *The Khamsah of Nizámi.*—Transcribed in A.H. 1012. The scribe not named. Five miniature paintings in Indo-Persian Style. Five illuminated Sarlawḥ Indian writing. Some leaves at the beginning supplied later.

44. *Sháh Námeh.*—This copy is dated A.H. 872 but the last page is in a later hand, though the date is not improbable. It has a prose preface which seems to be an abridged form of Mírza Baisunghar's preface (compiled in A.H. 829).

Illuminated frontispiece ; sixteen miniature paintings.

45. *Mukhammasát*[80] of 'Ali b. Muḥammad Ínáq on the *Ghazals* of Háfiz. The preface has been placed in this copy at the end, in which we are told that one of the ancestors of the poet Amír Kamál-ud-Dín Abdur Rahím Ínáq had edited the díwán of Ḥáfiẓ.

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[77] *Cf.* *'Álam 'Árái* (Tehran, 1314) p. 116 where the work is said to be in seven parts. Possibly the Persian *Kachkul* (see Rieu 775a) has two parts which together with these five parts make seven in all.

[78] In Madrisat al-Áṣifiya al-Qiwámíya.

[79] There are also some paintings in this Collection.

[80] See Sprengar, Oude Catalogue page 415.

This copy was transcribed in A.H. 1217 by 'Abd al-Kháliq b. Khalifa 'Áshúr of Ghazní for Khán Sher Muhammad Khán of Ghazní.

(5)—*Professor Siráj-ud-Din Ázar's Collection.*

Prof. Azar of Islamia College, Lahore, has collected over two thousand Persian and Arabic Manuscripts within a comparatively short period of about three years. The Collection has some valuable works on Poetry and History.

The following Manuscripts represent this Collection :—

46. *Jami' al-Tawáríkh* (vol. 2 only). This copy is better than the one already described on page 2. This important work has suffered very much at the hands of the scribes on account of the multitude of unfamiliar names occurring in it.

Several seals of the Amirs of Jehangír's and Shahjahán's period. A note refers to its having once belonged to Mun'im Beg, who apparently is identical with Mun'im Khán, Khán Khánán, who died in 981 A.H.

47-48. *Sharaf Námeh* of Yezdi (d. 858). Two excellent copies. One of these, dated, A.H. 899, has been collated according to a note at the end, with the author's autograph. The other, slightly defective at the end, is undated but may be even earlier.

49. *Tadhkirat al-Wáqi'át*, i.e., Memoirs of the reign of Humáyún by Jawhar who "commenced this work in A.H. 995, *i.e.*, 32 years after the death of Humáyún".[81]

This is a modern copy, written at Patiala in the last century (of the Hegira era).

50. *Ta'ríkh Humáyún.*—A note on the book gives the name of the author as Riyád Ahmad and the date of compilation as A.H. 961 but it is only a copy of the portion of Akbar Nameh dealing with the reigns of Babur and Humáyún. A few leaves at the end supplied in a later hand.

[ff 368, size 8½″ × 5″, ll. 15; Nasta'líq.]

51. *Táríkh Shir Sháhí.*—A shorter version of 'Abbás Sharváni's monograph on Shir Shán, identical with the British Museum MS. no. Or. 1857 (see Rieu 921 a).

52. *Zubdat al-Tawáríkh* of Núr al-Haq (d. 1073 A.H.). As is well known, *Zubda* is a general history of India from the time of Ghurids to the accession of Jehangír (in A.H. 1014).[82]

This copy which is defectively dated at the end was transcribed in the 12th century. Scribe : Muhammad Táhir.

53. *Ma'dan-i-Akhbár* (vol. 2 only). The work is a general history, compiled in the reign of Jehangír by Ahmed Kambo[83]. This volume deals with the Mughals in India (Bábur to the death of Akbar).

This copy was transcribed in A.H. 1187.

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[81] See Rieu page 246.
[82] See Rieu page 224. [83] Ibid, page 888.

54. *'Ibrat Námeh* of Muḥmmad Qásim. "A history of the successors of Awrangzíb down to the over-throw of the Sayyids in A.H. 1133".[84]

This copy, written in different hands, was completed in Sammat 1902 (A.C. 1845).

55. An anonymous *History of the Sikhs*, from the beginning of the Sect to the time of Maharája Dalip Singh with an account of "the rise of the Zamindárs of Randháwa and the Chawdharís of Patiala".[85]

56. *Nukhbat al-Akhbár*.—Probably autograph copy of a general history from Adam to the end of the Abbasid Caliphate by a modern writer. The author calls himself 'Ináyatullah Muḥammad 'Árif al-Ḥusainí al-Qurashi.

57. *Nukhbat al-Siyar*.—A dictionary of biography and geography. Notices of the Mughal Emperors come up to the accession of Akbar II (A.H. 1221).

58. *Siyar al-Awliyá* or a history of the saints of the Chishti order, by Sayyid Muhammad b. Mubárak Kirmáni. The work was compiled in the latter half of the eighth century (Hegira era). A splendid copy ; the last few pages have been copied recently. The British Museum possesses only extracts from the work.

(6)—*Mr. Muḥammad Salím's Collection.*[86]

The collection consists of about seven hundred MSS ; mainly in Persian.

The following exhibits come from this collection :—

59. *Qánún* of Avicenna.—Only a portion of the famous work (ends with Book III). Transcribed by 'Abdus Ṣamad b. Aḥmad b. Mas'úd, otherwise known as بنده الحوزي in A.H. 669.

[ff ; 375 ; size, 14″×10½″; large Nasta'líq.]

60. *Futúḥát-i-Makiyya* vol. 2 of the copy noticed in Prof. Maḥmúd Shairání's collection. It is dated A.H. 884 and the name of the scribe is given as Mas'úd b.'Abdullah b. Mas'úd-Al-Gazarúní (only 15 years of age when he finished this copy, as he tells us). The copy was in A.H. 1125 in the Library of Mír 'Abdul Jalíl Bilgrámí,[87] who has left in it a note to this effect.

61. *Rubá'iyát of Omar Khayyam*.—This valuable copy[88] was transcribed in A.H. 868 and contains only 145 quatrains arranged alphabetically. Written in elegant small Nasta'líq, 3 quatrains to the page, the middle one placed diagonally in a square gold-ruled margins and gold-sprinkled paper. Transcribed in Baghdad by Haji Farajullah.

Some Notes on John Ovington.

(By H. G. Rawlinson, M.A., I.E.S.)

Little has hitherto been known about John Ovington, author of the valuable and entertaining *Voyage to Suratt*, 1689, which is one of the best of the 17th

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[84] See Rieu page 273 a. [85] See Rieu, page 976.

[86] Mr. Salim's collection is located in his house in Kucha Kothidarn, Lahore.

[87] For him see Ma'áthir al-K irám (Agra, 1328) Vol. 1, p. 257. He died in A.H. 1138.

[88] Described fully in the Oriental College Magazine (Lahore) for May, 1926.

century travel-books. I therefore place before the Commission the following results of investigations which I carried out while on leave in England this summer, in hope that they may be of interest. If other workers in the same field would communicate to me any additional data which may have escaped me, I should be grateful to them.

The Ovingtons were a numerous family of yeoman farmers in the Darlington district in the 17th and 18th centuries. The parish registers of the churches of Melsonby and Hutton Magna abound in entries of individuals of this name down to 1745, and there is an adjacent village named Ovington. John Ovington, son of James Ovington and Mary his wife, was baptised on March 5th, 1655, at Melsonby Church. A daughter, Isabel, was baptised there on September 29th, 1658, and on March 3rd of the following year, Mary Ovington was buried in the churchyard. Shortly after, James Ovington married again, and on March 31st, 1662, a son, Thomas, by his second wife, Jane, was baptised. It is possible that his father's second marriage may partly account for John Ovington's early departure from home and his subsequent wanderings. John Ovington was educated at the neighbouring Grammar School of Kirby Ravensworth, 5 or 6 miles distant, and then went to Trinity College, Dublin, where he was admitted as a sizar on May 5th, 1671. (*Alumni Dublinienses*, 1924.) In 1675 he became a Scholar, and took his B.A. in the spring of the same year, and his M.A. in 1678. In the following year, he returned to England. On May 12th, 1679, he entered St. John's College, Cambridge, and matriculated on July 3rd. At St. John's he was, as at Dublin, a sizar. There is no trace of his having taken any degree at Cambridge, but he was probably ordained shortly after.

For the next ten years there is a gap in Ovington's career which I have not been able to fill. In 1689, he was engaged by the East India Company as Chaplain of the *Benjamin*, but not as a servant of the Company. He sailed on April 11th, 1689 and reached Bombay on May 29th, 1690. Here he was weatherbound by the South-West Monsoon until the middle of September, when the *Benjamin* was able to continue her voyage to Surat. There was a vacancy for a chaplain at the English Factory, and Ovington agreed to stay on until the return of the *Benjamin* from the Spice Islands. He sailed again for England on February 14th, 1692, reaching Kinsale on September 18th and Gravesend on December 5th. The prolonged stop at Kinsale was due to fear of French privateers in the Channel.

Ovington had won golden opinions from the English factory at Surat, as the following testimonial in the India Office Records shews:—

SURAT TO COMPANY, 11 FEBRUARY, 1693 (O. C. 5862).

37. "Mr. John Ovington Minister ever since the first arrival of the *Benjamin* (wee being d (est) itute then of a minister) he hath officiated here amongst us with much integrity and uprightness, his life and conversation

being altogether conformable to his doctrines; a true pious good man. Wee promised him the settled sallary of Your Honours to the ministers of Suratt of 50£. per annum; and haveing served upwards of two years to all our contents and sattisfaction, wee most humbly recommend him to Your Honours for the gratuity you allways allow other good ministers as officiate here of 50£. per annum more, and accordingly wee have made up his accompts and hath presumed to draw our bills for the same, to recomend him and what wee have done to Your Honours favourable acceptation."

This went home by the *Benjamin*. The Company, in replying to the letter (3 January 1694) made no allusion to Ovington, and we have no log of the *Benjamin* for this voyage.

In 1693, Ovington apparently asked to be taken on as a permanent servant of the Company, as we next find the following entry:—

COURT MINUTES, 15 DECEMBER, 1693.

"This Court haveing received a testimoniall from the President and Councill of Surrat of the ministeriall abilityes and good deportment of Mr. John Ovington, for two years and upwards officiated as chaplain amongst them and tooke his passage for England on the ship *Benjamin*; and he being desirous to return back, it is ordered that he be entertained to serve the Company as chaplain in their factory at Surat, at the salary of fifty pounds per annum and fifty pounds a year gratuity, as he shall be found to deserve."

However, no mention is found in letters of 1694 and 1695 of his going out to Surat, nor in Court Minutes of those years. We have no Surat Consultations between 1683 and 1696. He is not mentioned in those of the latter year, nor in the letters from Surat of 1695 and 1696. A list of the Co.'s servants at Surat, May 1695, (O.C. 6037) does not contain Ovington's name, though it includes those of the Surgeon and the Steward.

The reason for Ovington's change of plan was doubtless the fact that he had settled down to write his *Voyage to Suratt*, compiled from notes and diaries which he had kept during his travels. This was published in 1696 by Jacob Tonson, and was duly acknowledged by the Company, as the following entry shews:—

COURT MINUTES, 16 APRIL, 1697.

"It is ordered that a warrant be made out for twenty-five pounds to Mr. John Ovington, late Chaplain at Surrat, being so much thought fit to be paid him for two wolf dogs by him procured and sent from Ireland to Surrat at the desire of the late President, and for a booke by him written and presented to the Company, called a Voyage to Surrat."

Ovington's work was not, however, received with equal satisfaction in all quarters. In particular he incurred the wrath of Captain Alexander Hamilton,

who was travelling in the East from 1688 to 1723, and published a lively account of his experiences four years after his return.[1] "I know a reverend Gentleman," he writes, "in *anno 1690*, who came to *Bombay* in *India*, Chaplain of the ship *Benjamin*, the ship was sent on a Voyage to *Atcheen* and the streights of Mallacca, while the Chaplain stay'd at *Bombay* and *Surat*, employed in his ministerial Duties, and in making his ingenious Observations and Remarks, which he published when he returned to *England*, for which he received a great deal of applause, and many encomiums from some of his Reverend Bretheren, and a particular Compliment from the Governors of the Church; yet I know, that his greatest Travels were Maps, and the Knowledge he had of the Countries any way remote from the aforementioned Places, was the Accounts he gathered from common Report; and, perhaps, those Reports came successively to him by Second or Third Hands; for, to my certain Knowledge, there were none then at *Surat* or *Bombay* that could furnish him with any tolerable accounts of some Countries that he describes, particularly the Growth and Nature of Tea, and shews its Bush very prettily among his Cuts; which Accounts are not easily procured, even in *China*, much less at *Bombay*."

Hamilton was, of course, an Interloper, to whom the Company and all its works was anathema, and this, no doubt, accounts for his wrath against Ovington.

In 1699, Ovington published *An Essay upon the Nature and Qualities of Tea* (J. Roberts, London), which ran into a second edition, printed by John Chantrey, without Templebar, and sold by Ben Bragg, at the Blue Ball in Ave Mary Lane, 1705, 40 pages, price 6*d*. Both editions of the pamphlet are now rare. It was written, we may suppose, at the Company's request, in order to puff the sale of the teas which they were beginning to import from China. It is to the illustration of the tea plant on the frontispiece of this pamphlet to which Hamilton refers in the extract quoted above. It was coarsely attacked in *A Satyr against Tea, or, Ovington's Essay upon the Nature and Qualities of Tea, etc., Dissected and Burlesqu'd*. By Mr. John Waldron. Dublin, printed by Sylvanus Pepyat, Bookseller in Skinner Row, 1733. This scurrilous lampoon, now also very rare, contains a number of offensive personalities, addressing Ovington as "female Ovington" and "soft hermaphrodite." But some of Ovington's statements, *e.g.*, that the Tatars digest raw meat by means of tea, certainly invited attack.

Ovington now at last reaped the reward of his labours. In 1701 he was made a D. D. of Dublin, and instituted into the Crown Living of St. Margarets, at Lee in Kent, where he remained until his death. He wrote two sermons, copies of which are to be found in the library of St. John's College, entitled *The Plausible Plea Silenced* (London 1705), and *Christian Chastity* (London

[1] A New Account of the East Indies, Edinburgh, MDCCXXVII, Preface.

1712). He was buried, at his own request, in Lee Churchyard, July 2nd, 1731, at the ripe age of seventy-eight.

The following is a copy of his Will:—

236 Isham.

THE WILL OF JOHN OVINGTON, D.D. RECTOR OF LEE IN KENT.

Dated 12 December 1729.

Desires to be buried near the South-West Corner of Lee Churchyard.[1]

Bequests:

To Mrs. Mary Lewin, silver rose water bottle
cousin, Mrs. Barne—silver standish.
god-daughter, Mrs. Margery Eddoes—2 candlesticks.
Mrs. Hewetson, £5.
"my Clark Mr. Whitfield"—£5.
servant, Ann Simson—£10.
to poor of Lee—£5.
to poor ministers, particularly Mr. Debeaumortier and Mr. Farly, my gowns, cossacks and bands.

Residue left to be equally divided among nephews and nieces, *viz.*:—

To niece Warner and her sister Brayne and their 2 brothers.

Mr. Geo. Knight and his sister Mrs. Hutton at Stockton, Yorkshire.

Mrs. Braly in New Inn Yard, Shoreditch.

Nephew Warner to be sole Executor, who is to have 20 guineas for his trouble.

Witnesses—Elizabeth Barne, Margaret Culling.

Proved at London, 15 Sept. 1731, by Edward Warner, executor to said deceased.

This will leads us, in conjunction with some of Waldron's remarks, to the conclusion that he died a bachelor.

Ovington, like Aungier and other Anglo-Indian worthies, finds no place in the *Dictionary of National Biography*. There are considerable lacunæ in this biography, especially in the early part of it, which further research in parish registers, etc., may fill up, and I hope that this may be possible at no distant date.

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[1] There are two tombstones in the place indicated, either of which may be Ovington's, as the epitaphs are now illegible.

The Münsiffs.

(By R. B. Ramsbotham, M.B.E., M.A., B.Litt.)

"Hobson-Jobson," in its definition and explanation of the word munsiff, states that it is a title of a judicial officer in British India, and that the office was first established in 1793. The Fifth Report of the Select Committee of 1812 describes the munsiff as one of three types of Commissioners, *viz.*, munsiffs, amins, and salian.[1] The first were justices, the second and third arbitrators, and their powers were limited to hearing suits of personal property not exceeding the value of fifty sicca rupees. "Hobson-Jobson's" date is wrong: the real author of this well-known and valuable branch of the judicial administration appears to have been Mr. Edward Otto Ives, who was the first Superintendent of the Diwani Adalat Court of Murshidabad after the reorganisation of those Courts in 1780. Mr. Edward Otto Ives had been Persian translator to the Provincial Council of Murshidabad in the years 1776-77: among his contemporaries was Robert Pott and his Chief was Mr. Edward Baber, a man of independent character and considerable acumen, who had effectively criticised the hollowness of the settlement made by the Committee of Circuit in 1772, by exposing the ignorance of the existing conditions in which the revenue was collected from the raiyats, and the inaccuracy of any settlement until that ignorance was dispersed. These home thrusts were not relished by Mr. Hastings and his Committee, but, to their credit, they did not allow their annoyance to injure Mr. Baber's prospects. It is not astonishing, therefore, to find original work and thought flourishing under so observant and fearless a chief.

In 1777 Mr. Edward Otto Ives, was promoted from being Persian translator to the superintendentship of the Murshidabad Diwani Adalat. He found himself overwhelmed with a mass of work, and he considered that some system of decentralisation in the interests of justice and efficiency were speedily necessary. Accordingly he submitted a plan to the Chief and Council of Murshidabad, which they forwarded and recommended to the Board in a letter dated June 1st, 1778, embodied in the Governor General's proceedings of January 29th, 1779, in which they urged the increase of the staff and scope of the Diwani Adalat Court.

The letter suggests that the reasons for retrenchment are now not so pressing, and that these Courts have the first claim to any relaxation for reasons which they proceed to give: the two Courts were never sufficiently staffed; the system of meeting extra expenses by levying a fee of 5 per cent. on each decree had failed; the arrears due to the servants in these establishments were considerable, and the Superintendent of the Court had been obliged to charge a fee of one rupee on each "arzi"—"But besides the insufficiency of the fund for the purposes designed, we have many objections to it's continuance drawn from the various abuses to which it is liable; nor shall we,

[1] Most probably this is *salisan* which means arbitrators.

we flatter ourselves, be thought too speculative when we offer it as our opinion that the dignity of Government is concerned in keeping up proper establishments and that it is somewhat sullied by trusting to a fund of this nature for defraying expenses which are absolutely necessary and to a due administration of Justice, an object of all others the most important.

We are aware that this fee has been of use in restraining the spirit of litigation to which the disposition of the Natives are but too much inclined but we think that if it be changed into a fine to be paid by the plaintiff (in case he is cast) to the defendant exclusive of such other costs of suit as the Court may think proper to award, this end would be equally answered and the inconvenience arising from the present mode be obviated at the same time.

We scruple not therefore to recommend in the strongest terms the total abolition of the 5 per cent. fee and the making of an addition to the number of servants on the present establishment, and we do ourselves the honour of enclosing a list of such as are necessary to the regular discharge of the business of the two Courts. We beg leave to observe that though we think we should not lose sight of a proper attention to frugality, yet in a matter of such importance to the welfare of these districts our views should not be too confined, and that the appointment of a few supernumerary servants would be much less prejudicial to the Company than too contracted an establishment must be to the regular discharge of the business and of consequence to the public good.

We beg leave, gentlemen, in this plan to explain to you a plan which has been adopted for a more speedy administration of Justice in the inferior Court. It was proposed to us by the present Superintendent after his taking charge, and as we were fully convinced that the petty disputes in and near a city of such extent as Murshidabad could not possibly be decided by the Superintendent alone, we most willingly gave it our sanction and Mr. Ives assures us that it has been attended with the desired success. To assist the Superintendent in the determination of these causes a number of responsible persons have been appointed under the title of munsiffs, or umpires, at a fixed salary which is paid from the 5 per cent. fee collected on causes decided by them. The munsiffs sit six days a week in places near the cutcherry. They have executed machalkas[1] that they will receive no bribe or present on any pretence whatever under pain of forfeiting, on conviction, doubled the sum so received to the informer and the amount of the decree to the party cast. They have likewise taken an oath of office renewable every month that they will decide to the best of their judgment without partiality or bias, when they have completed their investigation, they deliver in their faisalnama, or decision, to the Superintendent, which, under these restrictions is passed by him into a decree. The Superintendent has the authority of summoning the parties on any cause before him and fixing on a particular day for them to attend and mutually agree on submitting their cause to the arbitration of some com-

[1] Bonds.

mon friend or to anyone of the established munsiffs they please: in case they cannot both concur in their choice of either, the Superintendent may, to prevent vexatious delays, refer the matter to any one of the latter he thinks fit; this authority however, he assures us, he has had very few occasions of asserting as the utility of the scheme has been universally acknowledged, and the parties have, with very few exceptions indeed concurred in choosing their own judges.

This plan, gentlemen, having been adopted these nine months it is from the actual experience of the Superintendent and not on speculation that we take upon us to recommend in the strongest terms it's continuance; we are convinced that without it the superior Courts can be of but little real utility; the disputes which the Superintendent alone can decide being as nothing in proportion to the number of causes instituted. The Superintendent assures us that 20 of these munsiffs are not more than sufficient, and a salary of 40 rupees a month is, we think, the least that can induce men of principle and abilities to accept of these employments.

We have therefore added 800 rupees on their account at the bottom of the list which we have recommended; but if this sum should appear to you, gentlemen, too considerable, we think that the least cost of the two should be chosen and the 5 per cent. fee continued in the inferior Courts, rather than the plan should be abolished. All the servants of the Court however should be paid by the Company because the amount of the fees on the causes decided by the munsiffs is not found to be quite sufficient for defraying their salaries; nor will this be esteemed extraordinary when it is considered that no causes for sums exceeding 250 rupees are cognisable by the inferior Court, and that the greatest number are for sums less than 50. Besides this, the parties are frequently so poor as to render the collection even of this small fee utterly impracticable.

There is still another circumstance, gentlemen, arising from the present contracted establishment which we believe frequently productive of very oppressive effects to the natives; but as the expense which must be incurred by a redress would be more considerable than all the rest put together, we dare not recommend it in terms so strong as we have used with regard to the particulars already submitted in this letter to your determination; we nevertheless think it incumbent on us to mention it; it is the daily allowance paid by the asamis[1] to peons who are sent with summonses etc. from the Courts. The 5 per cent. fee was never more than sufficient to keep a few chuprassi peons who are deputed only on particular occasions. Tne number absolutely necessary for the transaction of the current business cannot be less than 200 in each court, and if they were added to the establishment it would occasion, at 5 rupees each, an increase of 2,000 rupees a month.

We think it was (sic) our indisputable duty to point out the consequence that arises from the present system: you, gentlemen, are the proper judges

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[1] Defendants of a suit.

whether the advantages to be expected from easing the people of this burthen will counter-balance so considerable an enhancement of expense that would be occasioned by defraying the charge from the Company's Treasury. It must not be concealed that there is one inconvenience to be apprehended were the mode of paying the peons by Government to be adopted: the asamis, when under no dread of their expenses being enhanced by delay or contumacy, might be apt to slight summonses issued at such a distance and brought to them by a single peon, but the exactions to which they are now subjected and which (every officer in the Court being interested to deceive) it is utterly impossible for the Superintendent to redress, are so great and various that we cannot but be of opinion that the mode we have suggested, though attended with one inconvenience, would (if the objection to the increase of expense be got over) be far preferable to the present...........The subject of this letter we conceive to be of such importance that we flatter ourselves we shall be pardoned taking up so much of your time; we thought it our duty (especially at the time when we understand the Adalats to be under your consideration) to lay before you every particular which we esteemed necessary for putting the Courts of Justice on a respectable and advantageous footing."

The Council also gave the proposed establishment of the two Courts, which were as follows:—

Diwani Adalat.

	Rs.
1 Peshkar	150
4 Mohurrirs (Persian) Rs. 25 each	100
2 Mohurrirs (Bengali), Rs. 20 each	40
1 Treasurer	25
1 Treasurer mohurrir	15
1 Jailer	100
1 Jemadar, Rs. 10	60
10 Peons, Rs. 5	
1 Jemadar, Rs. 20	20
10 Merdas,[1] Rs. 8 each	80
Jail hire	20
1 Brahman	6
1 Mullah	7
1 Daftarbund	7
1 Munshi	25
Paper	10
1 Portuguese writer	100
TOTAL	765

[1] Mirdaha head-peon, or messenger.

Inferior Diwani Adalat.

		Rs.
1	Peshkar	50
4	Persian Mohurrirs, Rs. 15 each	60
2	Bengali Mohurrirs, Rs. 15 each	30
1	Munshi	15
1	Mullah	7
1	Treasurer	15
1	Treasurer mohurrir	8
1	Brahman	6
1	Ferash	4
1	Daftarbund	5
1	Jemadar	15
10	Naibs or merdas (Rs. 8 each)	80
20	Chuprassi peons (Rs. 5 each)	100
	Paper and ink	15
	Jailer	30
	Jail hire	10
10	Peons for the jail (Rs. 5 each)	50
	TOTAL	500
	Add cost of Diwani Adalat	765
	TOTAL	1,265
	Deduct allowances already made by the Company for the Diwani Adalat	110
	For the inferior Diwani Adalat	78
	Proposed addition	1,322
	Add 20 munsiffs for the inferior Court at Rs. 40 each	800

N.B.—The 400 peons for the two courts are omitted.

These proposals stamp Mr. Ives as an officer of ability; their execution involved a complete re-organisation of the system of civil judicial administration in the mofussil, based on drastic decentralisation, having as it's object a speedy hearing and decision of causes: Mr. Ives recognised the fact that delayed justice is no justice. The Board accepted[1] the suggestions and sanctioned the introductions.

[1] G. G. P. January 29th, 1779.

In 1780,[1] the Governor General laid before the Board a plan for the administration of Justice in the provinces and it was ordered to lie for consideration. The plan was sanctioned on April 11th.[2] It consisted of 43 regulations and was to be "binding only until a new arrangement shall be made by authority of Parliament." The full text can be found in Colebrooke's "Supplement to the Digest," pp. 14-22.

The six Diwani Adalat Courts were ordered to be continued, each under the presidency of a covenanted civil servant of the Company styled Superintendent of Diwani Adalat. The jurisdiction of the Courts and the powers of the Superintendent were defined, and proper records were ordered to be kept. The chief effect of the new regulations was to transfer the powers of the civil judiciary in the districts from the Chief of the Provincial Councils to an individual, *viz.*, the Superintendent of the Diwani Adalat; this was, by the way, bitterly resented by the Provincial Councils and led to such wrangling between them and the Superintendents that the Board eventually issued a circular letter[3] forbidding any official correspondence whatever between the Provincial Councils and the Superintendents of Adalats. In the Circular letter dated April 11th, 1780, from the Board to the Provincial Councils, which accompanied the new regulations for the administration of Justice, official intimation was given of the gentlemen appointed to the respective Adalats. "You will observe that we have been careful to restrain the authority of the Superintendents of the Adalat in such particular cases as might interfere with or obstruct the collection of the revenues." The Councils are ordered to administer the oath prescribed in section 43, and the oath is to be written in a book "kept for that purpose and is to be signed by the Superintendent. The salary of the Superintendent is to be Rs. 1,000 per mensem *plus* an allowance of Sicca Rs. 300 per mensem for house rent.

The Office of Registrar to the Court of Appeals was also revived, and a resolution of the Board, dated April 18th, 1780[4] records that "the Board taking into consideration the necessity of reviving the office of Registrar to the Sadar Diwani Adalat or Court of Appeals, and being of opinion that whatsoever may be the judgment of the Supreme Court of Judicature on Mr. North Naylor[5] in consequence of the answers given by him to the interrogations put to him by the Court, he cannot, after suffering imprisonment and the disgrace

[1] G. G. P. March 28th, 1780.
[2] G. G. P. April 11th, 1780.
[3] G. G. P. August 15th, 1780.
[4] G. G. P. April 18th, 1780.
[5] Mr. Naylor succeeded, Mr. G. Boyle as Commissioner of Law Suits, on February 26th, 1779.
(G. G. P. February 19th/26th, 1779).
He was imprisoned in brutal circumstances on January 31st, 1780 by Sir E. Impey for contempt of Court in refusing to disclose to the Court certain confidential communications made to him by the Board in connection with the Kasijura Case. The Board declared this imprisonment to be "a species of torture of which the Board have never before heard any instances but in the Courts of Inquisition." G. G. P. March 9th, 1780.

he has undergone, continue to serve the Company in his offices of Commissioner of Law suits and their Attorney on Records which will require his attendance and services in the Court, and being desirous to avail themselves of the abilities of Mr. Naylor and to make him some retribution (sic.) for the sufferings he has undergone. Resolved that his former office of Commissioner of Law suits be discontinued, that he be removed from those of Company's Attorney and Attorney on Records and that he be appointed Registrar to the Governor General and Council in their capacity of Sadar Diwani Adalat or Court of Appeal with the same salary and allowances that is enjoyed in the above offices."

The salary was Rs. 2,000 per mensem.[1]

The new Superintendents soon got to work with more vigour, perhaps, than discretion; the Board's proceedings for May 30th, 1780 contain an instructive letter from Mr. Edward Otto Ives, addressed to the Murshidabad Provincial Council, dated April 10th, 1780. He writes of the expenses incurred in the administration, which the Court " rasum " or fees no longer covered, and explains why " the rasum which served very well to defray the expenses to the end of June, should have proved so deficient since that period." The first reason is the pujahs, during which the Courts were closed; 2ndly the illness of certain munsiffs. But the principal reason is the limitation of the Court's jurisdiction which took place in June; for before that, the Huzzur Rasum had been sufficient not only to defray the expenses of the Officers but also to supply any little deficiencies of the Munsiffs' rasum. It is therefore necessary to explain to you how the limitation above mentioned should cause a diminution of the Huzzur Rasum. When I inform you that I usually appropriate two-days in every week to the passing of the Munsiffs' decisions into decrees, two days to the enforcing of decrees and another day chiefly to the receipt of rozinamas[2] from persons who have come to an accommodation, and to the refering of causes to arbitration, where the parties can agree to do so, you will perceive that I have but very little time on my hands to hear causes in person. Even that little is still more limited because I am obliged frequently to examine the Munsiffs' decisions: the Huzzur Rasum, therefore arising from causes investigated and determined by me could not be very considerable and chiefly arose from the rasum of rosinamas or causes that were accommodated. Now these were principally mofussil causes because it was so troublesome to the asamis to come to the City that unless the cause was really good, they had much rather make up the matter than subject themselves to that inconvenience.

On the limitation of my authority this source of consequence failed at once, and this is the principal cause of the present arrears."

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[1] G. G. P. December 22nd, 1780.
[2] *Razinama* paper of mutual settlement of disputes, a deed of compromise.

Mr. Ives, after being appointed Superintendent of the Diwani Adalat at Murshidabad was in a position to correspond directly with the Board, and he speedily availed himself of this privilege.

In the Board's proceedings for July 14th, 1780 three letters from Mr. Ives, dated April 21st, May 25th and June 3rd respectively, were considered; in the first he urges the establishment of an inferior Court of Diwani Adalat. " I am fully convinced from experience of it's absolute necessity in this very extensive city where the petty disputes are so exceedingly numerous as totally to preclude the possibility of their being settled at one cutcherry. I think it my indispensable duty to recommend the re-establishment of an inferior Diwani Adalat."

He suggests that the inferior Court being under the Superintendent of the Adalat exercising the same control " as the Chief and Council had on the late system over the Diwani adalat," that the jurisdiction of the lower court should be confined to sums of less than Rs. 250 and to an accurately defined area of territory; " that six munsiffs at the plan formerly adopted at my recommendation " be employed; and that the expenses of the Court " be defrayed by a commission of 5 per cent. and the other fees established by the new regulations, and that the pay of the Superintendent of the lower Court be fixed at Rs. 500 per mensem. He recommended Mr. Turner Macan to the Board for the post.

In a second letter[1] dated May 25th, 1780, Mr. Ives submits 31 " subsidiary regulations which I published on the 22nd instant in the cutcherry of the Adalat under my superintendence. They descend to such particulars as are not prescribed in your general orders and are such as appear to me to be best adapted to the change of system which you have been pleased to make . . . . As I am very sensible how much theory differs from practice, it is possible it may not be in my power to carry every particular in the manner I have laid down into execution."

Among the 31 subsidiary regulations was one providing for a doctor " for sick prisoners. He shall always go to the jail three days in every week or as much oftener as may be necessary." How many European prisons at that day had a doctor attached to them under stringent orders to visit the sick at least three times a week. The seventh regulation ran..." as health depends in a great measure on cleanliness, the jail must always be kept clean." Remembering the state of Newgate prison in 1780, these two regulations alone throw a flood of light on the character of Mr. E. O. Ives as an administrator and judicial officer.

In the third letter Mr. Ives again lays stress on the value of " munsiffs, or umpires, entertained at fixed salaries and bound by penal obligations and solemn oaths of office as the only mode by which the great number of petty disputes

[1] G. G. P. July 14th, 1780.

that originate in and near this extensive city can be duly heard and decided." The letter encloses a copy of his regulations for the munsiffs. He decides that in the interest of " a due and speedy administration of justice " the decision of the munsiffs must be final, but the Superintendent is to possess the power of revival to be exercised in such cases as notoriously require it; and he assures the Board that all charges of corruption brought against munsiffs shall be " speedily as well as strictly investigated."

In his regulations recommended for the administration of the Inferior Court of Diwani Adalat at Murshidabad he asks for the appointment of five munsiffs to assist in the work; they are to execute machalkas in open cutcherry to do justice faithfully and honestly, and any case of insolence offered to the munsiffs in the execution of their duty is to be reported to the Superintendent of the Diwani Adalat, " who will punish them on such representation without listening to their[1] excuses."

The Board unanimously approved of all these regulations.[2]

I find no mention again of munsiffs in the Governor General's proceedings, but the proceedings of the Committee of Revenue for August 17th, 1781 contain a record of the appointment of " six munsiffs or public arbitrators " on a salary of Rs. 50 each to the Courts of Diwani Adalat in Dacca, Murshidabad, and Patna. The Revenue Records up to 1785 contain, so far as my researches have been able to find out, no further reference to munsiffs, but enough evidence has been produced to show without doubt that they were in existence in 1778, and that they owe their origin to the resourceful and observant mind of a junior officer, whose name is only known to a few students of Indian History from a contemptuous remark of Sir Elijah Impey's, but who probably did more to reconcile the poorest and therefore the most numerous class of Indian suitors to the methods of British civil justice than any achievement recorded of the first Chief Justice of Bengal.

Sources for Seventeenth Century British India in the leading British Archives.

(By Dr. Shafaat Ahmad Khan, Litt.D., F.R.H.S.)

The writer has been engaged for some time on the study of Sources for XVII century British India in the leading British Archives, and the results of his researches are embodied in the notices of rare books in various archives mentioned below.

The systematic study of these sources involved considerable labour, and their transcription was attended with great difficulties.

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[1] *i.e.*, those accused.
[2] G. G. P. July 14th, 1780.

The Manuscripts analysed below throw a flood of light on almost every aspect of XVII century British India. Yet, they have been curiously ignored by many of the most eminent historians of British India. I am convinced that the study of these manuscripts will revolutionise our conception of XVII century British India. I have dissected every manuscript to a critical analysis, and in most cases have analysed important parts of all the documents. No unbiassed observer of this paper can help being struck with the abundance of material in the various archives of England. I am convinced that a Historical Manuscript Commission for India is an absolute necessity, and in this matter the Local Governments ought to initiate Historical Commissions in their provinces. Sources exist in abundance in nearly every district, but there is nobody to collect them, to organise them and to fuse them into a coherent whole. I suggested this in my paper at the meeting of the Commission in January, 1923.

I will now proceed with the description of important manuscripts in the leading British archives.

Documents in the British Museum.

1613, 30TH SEPTEMBER.

Nicholas Downton's Account of his voyage in the Peppercorn in the East Indies under the Command of Sir Henry Middleton, addressed to Lord Chichester, Deputy of Ireland.

Cotton Ms. Otho E. VIII, fols. 244-47*a*.

The beginning of this manuscript appears to be missing and the top of each sheet is burnt off. The first sheet seems to have been reversed, fol. 244*a* containing matter of prior date to that on fol. 244. The dates, so far as can be ascertained, run from 23 July, 1610, to 30 September, 1613. The narrative includes an account of Sir Henry Middleton's imprisonment at Mocha and his escape thence (11 May, 1611), with his subsequent relation with the "Bashaw." The places touched at include the Cape, Madagascar, Aden, Mocha, Socotra, Surat, Sumatra and Java. The ship was at St. Helena in June, 1613, and off Ushant in the August following.

See above in the same collection (Cotton Ms. Otho E. VIII, fols. 1—244) for a full account of these incidents, under date 1611.

1615—1616/17.

Letter Book of the English Factory at Surat in the years 1615, 1616.

Add. Ms. 9366, 177 fols.

This valuable manuscript consists of 241 separate documents. Its title is somewhat misleading for it consists of letters signed by Thomas Kerridge in

his official capacity as the Company's Servant at Ahmadabad, July, 1615—February 1615-16, as well as after he became head of affairs in Surat, in February, 1615-16. In the latter case the letters are pinned in concurrence with his colleagues, and these extend from February, 1615-16 to January, 1616-17.

The letters are addressed to Surat, Agra, Ahmadabad and Broach. There are, besides, a considerable number written to Sir Thomas Roe, Ambassador at the Court of the Mogul, and two or three to the Company in England.

Some half dozen of the letters to Sir Thomas Roe and the Company have been printed by Mr. William Foster in his *Letters Received*, Vols. IV and V, and Mr. Foster has also utilised Kerridge's correspondence with the Ambassador when editing the Diary of the Embassy for the Hakluyt Society.

A second copy of the letters from February, 1615-16 onwards is preserved at the India Office, *Factory Records, Surat*, Vol. LXXXIV, Pt. I., and this volume contains four letters of a later date than those in the B. M. Volume.

The whole series is intensely interesting and throws much light on the political and commercial relations of the East India Company, in Surat and the neighbourhood, in the early part of the 17th century.

To indicate adequately the matter to be found in the closely-written pages of this mass of correspondence would require a volume. For the present purpose it has been considered sufficient to catalogue the documents chronologically with location, date and name of addressee, and to note in the briefest fashion the chief points of interest in each document. The manuscript is essential to the study of the early history of English intercourse with India, and it ought to be carefully analysed by a skilful scholar.

1658-65.

Negotiations of Sir George Downing.

Add. Mss. 22919-20.

The following documents throw further light on Cromwell's attitude towards the Company, while Downing's activity and zeal are no less manifest. Thurloes' letters to Downing are particularly important.

N.B.—The numbers of folios given are those of the revised paging in pencil f. 27-29, 3 May, 1658. Answer (in French) by the States General to the protest delivered by Sir George Downing, on the 21st March, on behalf of merchants trading to the East Indies, who complain of ill-treatment on the part of the Dutch.

The States General defend the conduct of their servants in the East. They set forth that the Javanese in Bantam had broken the peace concluded with them, and had burnt the houses and sugar factories of the Dutch, compelling the latter to have recourse to arms and to blockade the town and river of Bantam. That they courteously warned the English of this design and did not

refuse to allow them to provision their ships for Europe as stated in the protest. Further, they deny that Pularoon has been destroyed, that they have offered 30,000 dollars for the monopoly of the pepper trade, or that the alleged injuries done to English vessels has any foundation. Nevertheless, they have sent orders to their Governor-General, directing that if any of their commanders shall be found guilty of the charges brought against them, or of any violation of the Treaty of 1654, they shall be rigorously punished. They maintain that the complaints of the English merchants are groundless, and suggest, in case of their continued dissatisfaction, that their cause shall be tried in a court of law.

f. 66. 3 December, 1658. J. Thurloe (Treasury) to Sir George Downing. Sends papers and instructions with reference to the three East Indian Ships taken by the Dutch. No details given.

f. 68. 24 December, 1658. Ditto to Ditto. Respecting the three ships as above.

f. 72. 7 January, 1658-59. Ditto to Ditto.

His Highness and the Council want to know what is to be expected of the Dutch in the "East India business" as "the eyes of all the Nations are upon it."

f. 75. 4 February, 1658-59. Ditto to Ditto.

He has received news of the agreement about the Bantam Ships. The owners demur to the ten weeks allowed for payment. An early settlement is desired.

f. 86. 4 March 1658-59. Ditto to Ditto.

Agreement about the three East India Ships ratified by the protector. Further petitions from the East India Company for restitution, apart from the three ships. The Ambassador is to do the best he can for them.

f. 207. [1662]. Demands of John South, of London, merchant, for loss and damage sustained by and from the Netherlands East India Company in the East Indies.

The demands are for £4,000 worth of goods on board the *Nostra Signora di Rimedia*, which ship was taken at Macassar, Celebes I, and carried off by the Dutch to Batavia.

f. 209-12. 30 April, 1662. Complaint of the owners of the advice, which was let on freight to the East India Company, in 1658, for a voyage to Bantam and back.

They complain that the ship arrived at Bantam but that the Dutch would not permit her to unlade or lade goods there or even provision the ship. That, in consequence, the cargo was unladed by stealth, at Lampoon, 26 leagues from Bantam. That owing to the obstruction of the Dutch, the Ship's return

was delayed and she was forced to make the voyage in the winter to the detriment of her gear, the loss of her passengers' goods and the payment of extra demurrage by her owners.

f. 236. 11 July, 1662. Letter from Sir Richard Ford, in London, to Sir George Downing.

Expresses appreciation of Downing's activity on behalf of the East India Company. The Company's servants at Bantam have been ordered to attempt to regain possession of Pularoon.

f. 239. [1662] [Torn fragment.] A paragraph (in Latin), touching the delivery of Pularoon, according to the articles of treaty of 1654.

f. 248-50. 5-15 September 1662. Letter (in French) from the Dutch Ambassadors at Chelsea " an Greffier Ruysel " stating that they are empowered to agree to all the articles in question, between the Dutch and English, except as regards the claims of the English for the *Bonne Esperance* and *Henry Bonaventure.*

f. 263. 9 November, 1662. Deposition of J. Hurstaerdt, commander of the Dutch East India fleet, that he prevented the English East India Company's ship from going to Porcat, because the king of that place was an enemy of the Dutch, but that the vessel in question, the *Hopewell,* had been provided with wood and water. [In French.]

f. 265. 6 December, 1662. Protest by James Snow, and the officers of the Hopewell, against Jacob Hurstaerdt, head of the Dutch factory at Cochin, for his refusal to allow their ship to proceed to Porcat. [In French.]

f. 266. 31 December, 1662. Protest by George Oxenden and Council, at Surat, against Jacob Hurstaerdt and the Netherlands East India Company, for their action with regard to the *Hopewell.*

1663.

Add. Ms. 22920.

f. 13-14. 17-27 September, 1663. Sir George Downing, at the Hague, to the States General. (In French.)

He protests against the States General, for the action of their agent, on the coast of Africa, in refusing to allow the *Charles* and *James* to take in slaves or to trade at Cormantin, on the coast of Guinea, on the pretext that the English East India Company was at war with the inhabitants on the coast of Africa. There is further correspondence in the volume about the above affair, but it refers entirely to the African Company.

f. 15. 17 November, 1663. Copy of a protest by the East India Company's factors at Porcat (Porakad) against the Governor of Cochin for his action regarding the *Hopewell.*

They complain of obstruction in trade to their ship and also to the *Leopard*, and of the conduct of the Dutch in overawing the native ruler and forbidding him to have commercial relations with the English.

f. 35. 7-17 April, 1664. Lord Denzil Holles, at Paris, to Sir George Downing.

He complains of the attitude of the Dutch towards the English, their refusal to restore Pularoon, their attempts to obstruct British trade on the coast of Guinea, etc.

f. 42. 5 June, 1664. Answer of the States General (in French) to the protest of the English regarding the *Hopewell*.

They declare that they have enquired into the matter but go into no particulars and only express a hope that for the future the relations between the two countries may be amicable.

[1659.]

Receuil Historique.

Stowe Ms. 988, fols. 11*b*-24*b*.

No. 4. Abstract of the travels of R. Knox in Ceylon [1659] from a French translation published in 1693.

[1667-72.]

The Marshall Manuscripts.

There are eight manuscripts in the British Museum attributed to John Marshall. They are Harbian manuscripts 4252, 4253, 4254, 4255, 4256; additional manuscripts 7037 (now O.R. 17 A.K.), 7039, 7040.

Harl. manuscript 4252 is a copy made by Marshall of the Captain's Journal of the voyage of the *Unicorn* to Madras, and thence to Bengal, in 1667-69. In this Ship Marshall sailed as a factor in the service of the East India Company.

Harl. manuscript 4253 contains Marshall's account of the Hindu religion, gathered from his intercourse with a Brahman at the company's factory at Kāsimbāzār, where Marshall was stationed from 1672 until his death in 1677. It also contains part of his translation of the *Bhagavat Purana*.

Harl. manuscript 4254 deals with occurrences and notes made at Patna from 1668-72. Some of the entries are in the form of a diary, but the greater part are scraps of information jotted down at random with no attempt at arrangement.

Harl. manuscript 4255 is similar in character to 4254, but of a later date, covering the period, 1671/2-1672.

Harl. manuscript 4256 contains a copy of 16 fols. of No. 4253 and a continuation of Marshall's translation of the *Bhagavat Purana.*

Additional manuscript 7037 (O. R. 17 A. K.) is a later copy of Harl. manuscripts 4253 and 4256.

Additional manuscript 7039 contains extracts from Harl. manuscripts 4254 and 4255.

Additional manuscript 7040 contains extracts from Harl. manuscript 4254.

C. R. Wilson has two references to the Marshall manuscripts in his early Annals of Bengal, Vol. I, pp. 375, 381, foot-notes, but he speaks of the author erroneously as a Superstitious Sailor."

Sir Richard Temple has freely used Marshall's Notes and Observations in his edition of the *Diaries of Streynsham Master* (Indian Records Series), and in his countries round the Bay of Bengal (Hak. Soc. ed). He has also given a brief biography of Marshall in his *Correspondence of Richard Edwards,* (Notes and Queries, 12SIII, 263, 1917), and *Bengal Past and Present,* Vol. XVII, pp. 162-64.

Marshall's account of the famine at Patna, in 1670-71, has been quoted both by Sir Richard Temple in countries round the Bay of Bengal and by Sir Theodore Morison in his *Economic Transition of India*, 1911.

In the detailed description of Harl. manuscripts 4254 and 4255 given below, the various subjects dealt with in a discursive fashion have been grouped under their several headings for facility of reference.

The Marshall manuscripts have been strangely ignored by scholars. Marshall was probably the first European who studied the language, philosophy and religion of the Hindus, and his Diary is essential to the understanding of many of the local customs, and important events of the period. See my article, in the *Journal of Indian History*, No. I, Vol. I.

1667-69.

The Marshall Manuscripts Journal to East India in Ship Unicorn, 1667-68 [1669].

Harl. Ms. 4252, 28 fols.

1675.

'*A familiar and free Dialogue betwixt Joh John Marshall and Muddoosoodun Rauree Bramin.*

Harl. Ms. 4253, 40 fols.

at Cassambazar in Bengal [1] in East India, begun the 18th March, 1674-5.'

f. 1-8. The creation of the world. The difference between "Addirb" the omnipresent and "Dirb" the corruptible. The creation of woman, then

man. These matters are treated in a series of questions between John Marshall and the Brahman.

f. 9. 25 June, 1675. Account of Muddoosoodum Raure [e], Bramine: "Account of the Hindoo book called Srebaugabatporam."

Then follows Marshall's version of the Brahman's interpretation of the sacred book. He begins with the evolving of the creation in the mind of God and the making of 'Rosagum, Hittagum and Tomagum,' who merged into one woman called 'Addea,' for whom God created 'Manapurse.'

1675.

The Marshall Manuscripts—contd.

Harl. Ms. 4253—*contd.*

Marshall's marginal notes summarise the information obtained from the Brahman's account of the *Bhagavat Purana.*

1674-75.

The Sri Bhagavat Puran translated into English by John Marshall from a Persian Version of the Sanskrit Original.

Add. Ms. 7037 (now O. R. 17A. K.), 254 fols. or 510 pages.

This manuscript is a modern copy of portions of Harl. manuscripts 4253 and 4256.

1675-77.

A late copy of portion of Harl. manuscript 4256.

Add. Ms. 7038 (now O. R. 17A. K.), 317 fols.

Pp. 511-814. "A continuation of Muddoosoodum Rauree Bramin's Account of the Hindoos Book called Sreebaugabut poran—translated per John Marshall and brought from Liber C the 30th of April, 1675."

Pp. 815-1099 and 2000-44. "A continuation, etc., brought from Liber D the 29th May, 1677." The manuscript ends with the words: "Explicit Sunker Liber or the Bramin's Poran or Booke."[2]

1667-72.

Cursory remarks from the Papers of J. Marshall on the Customs and popular Astronomy of the Hindoos, etc.

Add. Ms. 7039, 39 fols.

This manuscript contains extracts from Marshall's manuscripts, Harl. manuscripts 4254 and 4255.

f. 1-37. Extracts of astrological and astronomical notes, notes on languages, opium, faqirs, Brahmans, geographical notes, etc., taken from Harl. manuscript 4255.

f. 38-39. An extract from Harl. manuscript 4254, fol. 28-29, concerning Marshall's election as a factor in the service of the East India Company.

1667-72.

Extracts from a manuscript intituled "Memorandums concerning India from September, 11 1670 to January 1st, 1671-2 per John Marshall."[2]

Add. Ms. 7040, 25 fols.

This is a small note-book containing extracts from Harl. manuscript 4254, chiefly Marshall's remarks on the Hindu religion. On fol. 25 there is a note on the author, his education and the value of his manuscripts.

1683.

Letter from Lord Sunderland to Mr. Chudleigh about the Bantam business, to be delivered by Sir John Chardin.

Lansdowne, Ms. 1152, fol. 86.

22 April, 1683. Mr. Chudleigh is informed of the anger of King Charles II at the action of the Dutch in Bantam and is desired to assist Sir John Chardin, the Deputy of the East India Company, who is to demand reparation from the States General.

1688-89.

Journal of a Voyage from Bengal to Madras with letters, etc., received concerning Capt. Wm. Heath's Transactions in the Right Hon. Co.'s affairs, 8 November, 1685—5 March, 1689.

Egerton Ms. 283, fols. 2-26.

f. 21. 11 October, 1686. William Heath to Job Charnock and Governor and Council, in the Bay of Bengal. Written aboard the *Resolution* at Chuttanuttee. He authorises a letter to the Nabob, offering the services of 10 ships of war for twelve months, provided the Nabob confirms their old privileges and permits their building a fort. If this permit be not speedily given,

they are to state they will depart, as their orders are "to stay no longer here in fenceless Factories."

f. 21-21*a*. 28 October, 1688. C. Eyre and R. Braddyll at Dacca to Job Charnock, etc. They anticipate a favourable answer from the Nabob to their petition, and request that a delay of 25 days be allowed them.

f. 23. November, 1688. Ditto to ditto. The Nabob's *parwana* not yet obtained although they have promised him to transport, 1,000 horse and 2,000 foot on his behalf. They ask for further delay, which would be greatly to the Company's benefit.

f. 21*a*. 3 November, 1688. Ditto to ditto. They are in a fair way of securing their requests. The Nabob has given his promise and a parwana is expected in a few days.

f. 22*a*. 10 November, 1688. William Heath to [?] He sends a letter to "Mellick" to be translated and forwarded.

f. 22*a*-23. 17 November, 1688. H. Stanley and John Haynes at Balasor to Job Charnock, etc. They complain that they have been neglected. They state that the Company's servants could easily have been got on board the Ships, but no orders were received. Now threats have been used, and at the first attempt to escape all will be killed or carried up-country. They are imprisoned in their own houses, under a strong guard.

f. 22. 18 November, 1688. Ditto to ditto. Repetition of the previous letter. The Governor is willing to treat for peace and the "Naib" is on the way with terms, or the English may be left to trade in peace as formerly.

f. 23*a*-24*a*. 20 November, 1688. C. Eyre and Roger Braddyll at Dacca to Job Charnock, etc. The Nabob's answer sent by peons, who returned without delivering it, is now sent by 'Dauk.' The charge against them of neglect is indignantly denied. They declare that they have used every effort to fulfil their mission. They are now in close confinement. They urge the need of awaiting the issue of this treaty.

f. 3. 24 November, 1688. Two French Ships captured.

f. 8. 27 November, 1688. Treated with the Governor, who threatened death to all English on shore on the first attempt to land a force.

29 November, 1688. Account of fighting on shore.

3 December, 1688. Negotiations with the Governor.

4 December, 1688. Balasor occupied by the Governor's forces. The Company's servants carried off.

f 25. 4 December, 1688. Translation of an obligation given to the Nawab Bahadur Khan by Messrs. Eyre and Braddyll. Received from Dacca, 4 December, 1688.

The main conditions of the 'obligation' were that, should their trading privileges be confirmed and land granted them for the erection of a fort, they

would furnish transport for 1,000 horse and 2,000 foot for the Nawab, convey them to Arakan, and assist the Nawab in the seizure of fortresses there.

4 December, 1688. *Parwana* from the Nawab Bahadur Khan to Capt. William Heath, received from Dacca, 4 December, 1688.

The Nawab acknowledges the receipt of a promise of free transportation of his men and horses to Arakan. In return he will send ' Bohurnmull ' to treat with the English.

f. 25*a*. 4 December, 1688. Mir Mahmud ' Ummee,' Fauzdar Balasor, to the Agent of J. Charnock. The men sent to the fortifications are landed. Three *parwanas* have arrived from the Nawab. The Agent is desired to send a person to confer with him.

f. 26. 4 December, 1688. ' Bohurnmull ' to the Agent. The Nawab is pleased with the promise of transport for his forces and has granted his parwana, which is sent herewith.

f. 8-8*a*. 11 December, 1688. Consultation—Present: Messrs. Charnock, Ellis and Peachie. As there are no hopes of using the Company's treasure at Balasore, they decide to send it to the Coast, but Capt. Heath would not permit this to be done.

21 December, 1688. The Company's fortifications demolished—all forces re-embarked.

23 December, 1688. Sailed from Balasore.

18 January, 1688-89. Off Chittagong Messengers sent to the town and a conference held.

f. 12*a*-13. 21 January, 1688-89. Consultation of all the commanders of the Company's Ships and the Agent and Council. Discussion as to the advisability of attacking Chittagong. It was decided that the town could be taken, but probably could not be held. See also I. O. Records, O. C. 5657.

f. 15*a*-16*a*. 26 January, 1688-89. Consultation—Present: Messrs. Charnock, Ellis and Peachie. Note of injuries received in Bengal by the East India Company and of the power in the hands of Capt. Heath. The council would have stayed longer at Chuttanuttee to treat with the Nawab's Agent but Capt. Heath's impatience caused the loss of goods and men. He intends to leave Chittagong without waiting for answers to letters or receiving provisions and water.

f. 17-17*a*. 26 January, 1688-89. Letter from J. Charnock, F. Ellis and J. Peachie, on board the *Defence*, to Capt. William Heath. The messengers sent on shore have been well treated and have been asked to await the Nawab's answer to the letter sent by them. A new Governor is expected immediately. They suggest waiting for six days to provision and water the ship. An agreement might then be concluded. So good an opportunity of settling the Company's affairs may never recur. A survey of ' Sundiva ' is most desirable.

26 January, 1688-89. Sailed from Chittagong.

4 March, 1688-89. Reached Madras.

The above is a valuable document, and throws further light on Job Charnock.

The account of Capt. Heath's proceedings and his attempts to supersede and discredit Job Charnock is related at length in the Diary of William Hedges, Vol. II, by Yule. It is also dealt with by C. R. Wilson in his Early Annals of Bengal, Vol. I.

1688-89.

'The Diary of George Weldon and Abraham Navarro's Journey up to the Court of the Great Mogull.'

Sloane Ms. 1910, No. 3, fols. 45-58.

in prosecution of the Treaty of Peace before by them and Mr. Higgins begun with Meer Nazams and Cozzy Ibrahim at Daman and Bassein in the presence of John de Sequeira de Faria, Capt. Genll. of the Portuguese nation, etc.'

A most valuable document, giving a vivid account of the country.

This document consists of two Diaries with the above title.

f. 45-46*a*. The first, 27 November,—21 December, 1688 is occupied with an account of events in the journey from Bombay to the King's Camp at 'Peergoon' in the Deccan. It contains notes of the route, condition of the towns traversed and remarks on contemporary events. From 'Peergoon' the ambassadors travelled with the army to 'Jerrebe,' where they had a conference with the Nawab, Asad Khan, who promised to act as intermediary with the King and to deliver the Company's petition to him. Here the Diary breaks off.

f. 47-57*a*. 29 May—23 September, 1689. The second Diary is entitled: 'A Dairy of all accurrences of our expedition to Daman in order to the makeing a peace betweene the English nation and the Mogull, begun the 29th May, 1689.'

f. 47-47*a*. On these fols. there is a detailed account of the journey to Daman, where the party arrived on the 7th June and had a conference with the Captain-General of the Portuguese.

f. 48-49. A long delay ensued, the events of each day up to the 7th July being chronicled. 'Antonia de Gaurde Coutte' was then sent to Surat to endeavour to expedite matters.

f. 50-50*a*. A conference was held on the 23rd July, 1688, between Qazi Ibrahim and Mir Nazim (who pretended to have powers to treat) and the Company's emissaries, but it was inconclusive.

A further conference was held on the 24th July, when certain points of agreement were decided on.

The English demands were stated and debated on the 25th July and again on the following days.

After much controversy the Ambassadors decided, on the 14th August, to return to Bombay for further instructions.

f. 55. 21 August, 1688. The Ambassadors arrived at Bombay.

30 August, 1688. They set out for Bassein, and arrived on the following day.

1 September, 1688. Negotiations were continued, and eventually concluded, with Mir Nazim.

23 September, 1688. The envoys received sealed copies of the agreement and took their leave.

1688.

Letter from Capt. Joseph Haddock dated 17 December, 1688, on board the Princess of Denmark at Balasor, to his brother, Sir Richard Haddock.

Egerton Ms. 2521, fols. 57-58*a*.

He gives an account of the proceedings at Hugli and Balasor, of the imprisonment of the Company's servants, and of the outrages committed by the Mogul officers, etc., etc.

1698-1702.

Embassy of Sir William Norris to the Emperor Aurangzeb, December, 1698-1702.

Add. Ms. 28943, 31302.

The account of the Embassy contained among the manuscripts at the British Museum is confined to (1) the official papers (credentials, instructions, etc., inaugurating the Mission) with letters from the Company to the Ambassador after his departure; (2) minutes of council held at Masulipatam from the arrival of Sir William Norris until his departure for the Mogul's Court; (3) copies of correspondence between the Ambassador and the President and Council at Masulipatam. To complete the history of the Embassy recourse must be had to the India office Records, *Factory Records*, *Misc.*, Vols. 19, 20 (Norris's Letter Books), and to the O. C. collection from No. 6728 onwards. There is an account of the Embassy in Bruce's *Annals*, Vol. III, and short

notices in Wilson's *Early Annals of Bengal*, Vol. II, pp. 152-53, and Love's *Vestiges of old Madras*, Vol. II, pp. 5-6.

N.B.—Add. manuscript 28943 contains, with one exception, duplicates of a portion of Add. manuscript 31302.

Add. Ms. 31302.

f. 4-5*a*. 29 December, 1698. Covenants between the English East India Company and Sir William Norris.

f. 2. 31 December, 1698. King William III's instructions to his Ambassador.

f. 5*a*-8. [December, 1698]. Directions and instructions given by the English East India Company to Sir William Norris.

f. 8. [December, 1698]. List of the names, stations and salaries of the persons to attend the Ambassador.

f. 8*a*. [December, 1698]. Inventory of silver plate for the use of the Ambassador.

f. I*a*. 1 January, 1698-99. Commission to Sir William Norris from William III to be his Ambassador to the great Mogul and other Princes in India.

The Ambassador is authorised to conclude agreements respecting trade, etc.

There is a duplicate of the Commission in Add. manuscript 28943, fols. 4-4*a*.

Add. Ms. 28943, f. 3.

f. 3. 1 January, 1698-99. Copy of the King's Warrant to the Chancellor of England to affix the great seal of England to a Commission of Sir William Norris, Bt. This document does not appear in Add. manuscript 31302.

Add. Ms. 31302.

f. 3. 1 January, 1698-99. Letter from King William III to the Great Mogul, credential letter authorizing the Ambassador to conclude a Treaty of friendship and commerce.

There is a duplicate in Add. manuscript 28943, fols. 6-7*a*.

f. 3*a*-4. 1 January, 1698-99. Letter from King William III to the Great Mogul. Credential letter of Edward Norris, Secretary to the Embassy, who is authorised to act as Ambassador in case of the death of Sir William Norris.

There is a duplicate in Add. manuscript 28943, fols. 7*a*-8*a*.

f. 8*a*-9*a*. 3 January, 1698-99. Edward Norris chosen Secretary to the Ambassador.

Directions from the Company to him in case of the Ambassador's death.

f. 10-11. 3 January, 1698-99. Instructions to Thomas Harlewyn and Mr. Blackett, Stewards of the Embassy.

f. 11. 3 January, 1698-99. Instructions to Thomas Thurgood, an assistant to the Embassy.

f. 11*a*-12. 3 January, 1698-99. Adiell Mill to keep account of expenses and presents.

f. 12-13. 5 January, 1698-99. Directions for using the telescopes.

9 and 10 January, 1698-99. Two letters from the Company to the Ambassador at Portsmouth.

10 January, 1698-99. Letters from the Company to Messrs. E. Norris, Harlewyn, Thurgood.

f. 13*a*-14. 17 January, 1698-99. Letter to the Ambassador at Portsmouth.

25 February, 1698-99 and 4 April, 1699. Letters to the Ambassador after his departure.

f. 15. 4 April, 1699. Letters to E. Norris, Thomas Harlewyn and Thomas Thurgood from the Company.

f. 16-26. 28 April, 1699—6 August, 1702. Sixteen letters from the Company to Sir William Norris.

f. 29-44. 23 March, 1699/1700—22 July, 1700. Minutes of Council held at Masulipatam by Sir William Norris, Ambassador.

f. 45-56. 1 October, 1699—31 May, 1700. Copy of the President and Council's Accounts for Equipage, Necessarys, etc., for the Embassy, with an account of what was returned.

f. 58-99. 3 January, 1700/1-20 March, 1701/2. Copies of correspondence between the Ambassador and the President and Council at Masulipatam.

Documents on Seventeenth-Century British India, in the Public Record Office, Chancery Lane.

Broadly speaking whilst the records of the inner administration of the East India Company are to be found at the India Office, the records of its relations with the State, its influence on the foreign policy of the Home Government and the consequent intricate treaty negotiations with different powers (the Dutch in particular) must be sought at the Public Record Office. There, too, the traces of the rival companies and traders may be met with.

The new classification of records at the Public Record Office is as far as possible a geographical one; but a large proportion of the earlier documents do not admit of such a division.

Save for the important Colonial Series—East Indies (now C. O. 77) we must not hope to find the documents or references relating to the East Indies as a separate section. The enquirer may even be met by a well-meant remark that there is little relating to India at the Public Record Office.

Moreover, the long and bitter rivalry between the English and Dutch East India Companies, their temporary co-operation, and the immense importance attached by both to the spice trade in the Moluccas; also the fact that for a time the headquarters of the English Company as well as of the Dutch were in Java (at Bantam and Batavia)—all these factors make it undesirable, if not well-nigh impossible, to separate the early documents relating to the Moluccas and Java in particular, from those more strictly concerning the English Factories on the Continent of India.

Throughout the negotiations and treaty preliminaries between England and Holland after the restoration of Charles II, Pulo-run is one of the cardinal points insisted upon on behalf of the East India Company.

In 1662, Lord Treasurer Southampton reported to the King (on Sir Nicholas Crispe's petition concerning the importance of and duties on Spices) that the Dutch had the sole trade for many years. 'The English cannot import them from Holland because they import them not from the place of their growth; the East India Company themselves having no capacity to do it until they be restored to Poleroon, or gain some of the Spice Islands.'

To deal profitably with the history of British India, the connection with Europe cannot be ignored. From the beginning of the Sixteenth Century, the economic and commercial history of the chief European nations and their naval and colonial history are practically inseparable.

The relations of the East India Company with the Portuguese, the French, the Dutch, the Danes, and other European rivals in the Eastern trade are reflected not only in the records of the Company itself, but in those of the States, and in the foreign relations of the latter, and the inter-relation of all these countries. Whilst, in the Sixteenth and early Seventeenth Centuries, Portugal is the great colonising power, in the middle of the century the history of the Dutch colonies, and especially of the Dutch East India Company, is of extreme importance. In 1664, in his Memorial to the States-General, Sir George Downing, the English Envoy, could state that the whole of the complaints against Holland were, in a manner, complaints against the East and West India Companies of that country.

Hence the documents concerning the various developments and relations must be sought in the great store-house of State Records, not only under the sections dealing exclusively with the colonial correspondence of the East Indies (now C. O. 77), but in the general series of Domestic State Papers and in the State Papers—Foreign, relating to each country concerned.

The State administration in England was not divided into definite Departments until the end of the period with which we are dealing. Until 1782, Home affairs were administered by two Secretaries of State, Northern and Southern, but whilst in the Eighteenth Century it was the Southern Secretary who had charge of the colonies, in the Seventeenth Century the distinction was by no means so clear. The separation even between Domestic and Foreign departments was not absolute. The classification of State Papers as Domestic or Foreign was made in the reign of James I. There is no definite class of State Papers: Colonial, although from 1699 the Colonial Records take the place of such.

The data for the early history of the East Indies must therefore be searched for at the Public Record Office in the comprehensive General Series in which they are included, not only as separate volumes in a class, single documents in bound volumes, or loose papers in partly classified bundles, but as individual entries in books or Component parts of General Correspondence.

As in the *State Papers: Foreign*, the despatches of the English ambassadors and agents abroad are of great importance, so in the *State Papers: Domestic*, the Correspondence of Secretaries of State must be consulted. To Sir Joseph Williamson, Keeper of State Papers, and later Secretary of State, we owe the collection and preservation of the great wealth of documents for the reign of Charles II. To him are due also several systematic collections arranged under subjects containing selected copies of documents in chronological order for the elucidation of particular questions. These may be consulted with great advantage, even though the originals of some of the papers may be found scattered elsewhere (*e.g.*, *State Papers: Foreign: Archives*, No. 219).

A list of Secretaries of State will be found printed in P. R. O. *Lists and Indexes*, No. XLIII, pp. v-viii, and one in Haydon's *Book of Dignities.* This and similar lists of ambassadors and officials at home and abroad are specially useful in tracing the continuity of a subject. Their correspondence is often indexed under names alone.

The official *Guide to the various classes of documents preserved in the Public Record Office*, by Mr. Scargill-Bird contains no detailed description of the documents specially relating to the East Indies.

The Search Rooms of the Public Record Office contain in addition to the printed 'calendars' of abstracts of various series a large number of lists and inventories, both printed and manuscript. In 1892 appeared the first of an official series of *Lists and Indexes*, which, in conjunction with the calendars, will, 'in course of time, form a catalogue of the National Archives' (*cf.* 51st Report of the Deputy Keeper of the Records, p. 10). A '*List of Lists*' compiled in 1906 was placed in the Literary Search Room, but, since the date of the Royal Commission on Public Records in 1911, the lists there available have been considerably supplemented and completely re-arranged.

The successive re-arrangements and re-classifications of the archives, due in many cases to the incorporation of new material or to the correction of misdescriptions, and the consequent alteration of references, have, however, made necessary the use of 'Keys.' A note communicated to the Royal Commission in 1912 by the Deputy Keeper of Public Records as to the references which have been altered in Official Calendars, Lists, or Indexes, includes, amongst others, the following 'Calendars in which some part of the references no longer holds good.'

Calendar of State Papers, Domestic.
Calendar of State Papers, Colonial.
Calendar of Treasury Books and Papers.

It also states that, 'apart from the local records or State papers which have been calendared, many volumes, rolls or bundles have been used and cited in various works, and the references to these documents are now, in many cases, obsolete.'

As regards the Colonial Office Records, the old printed lists have been re-arranged and catalogued in Lists and Indexes, No. XXXVI.

The present notes are necessarily based chiefly upon the Official Lists, Calendars and Reports and printed authorities, but have been supplemented by direct examination of selected original documents.

Colonial Office Records.

The principal series of documents at the Public Record Office relating to British India will be found in the *Colonial Office Records—East Indies*, now C. O. 77.

No. 36 of the *Public Record Office Lists and Indexes*, published in 1911, supersedes the List of Colonial Office Records printed in 1896.

The documents now therein listed, though generally known as Colonial Office Records, also comprise such of those derived from the Board of Trade, relating to the early committees and councils in charge of trade and plantation affairs as have not been dispersed or lost.

When it was decided to issue the Colonial Calendars, the books and papers, letters, loose memoranda, etc., were sorted and rebound in chronological order, many volumes of manuscripts already bound being broken up for the purpose. (This last method was subsequently abandoned.)

The papers described as *Colonial Correspondence*—now *Original Correspondence*—Secretary of State, were those which accumulated in the offices of the Secretaries of State who administered the Colonies. These papers ultimately reached the Colonial Office, and thence the Record Office. In addition there was a collection of office books from various sources, classed as Entry-Books, amongst them those containing papers earlier than the year 1688,

which had escaped being broken up. The whole of the records were re-arranged, and as far as possible classified geographically, for the compilation of the new list, No. 36, except in the case of papers already calendared by Mr. Noel Sainsbury. The earlier references therefore became obsolete. To obtain the new references when only the former is known, the list itself should be consulted; but a key based thereon, giving new and old references for the main East Indies Class (C. O. 77), is appended. *A key to the Colonial Entry-Books* is now printed, with an account of their history, in C. S. S. Higham's '*The Colonial Entry-Books—a Brief Guide to the Colonial Records in the Public Record Office before 1696.*'

A brief abstract of every document of the East Indies original correspondence down to the year 1634, is contained in the *Calendar of State Papers—Colonial Series—Indies, China and Japan* [and Persia], edited by W. Noel Sainsbury. This series is continued in date from 1635, in the unofficial *Calendar of the Court Minutes*, etc., *of the East India Company*, edited by Miss E. B. Sainsbury, with Introductions and Notes by Sir William Foster, C.I.E., which has now reached the year 1667. The latter include documents in the Public Record Office, besides those in the India Office, British Museum, etc., relating to the English factories in India, which could be found either in the Public Record Office. *Letters Received by the East India Company from its servants in the East*, begun in 1896 by Mr. Danvers, as a verbatim edition of the early correspondence from 1602-15, was continued by Sir W. Foster to the year 1617. Another official series of the India Office, edited by Sir W. Foster, was begun in 1902, *the English Factories in India.* It also includes Record Office documents as well as ' all those either emanating from or directly and in the sixth volume a large proportion of the papers is contributed by Archives of the India Office, or in the Manuscript Department of the British Museum.' This series begins with the year 1618 and the volume last published relates to the year 1664.

The papers calendared by Mr. Sainsbury comprise not only those in the Public Record Office, but also many in the British Museum and the India Office, relating to the early voyages for the discovery of a north-east or a north-west passage to India, the establishment of the East India Company, the settling of the different factories in the peninsula of India and the most important islands of the Indian Ocean, Sumatra, Java, Borneo and Celebes, the development of English trade and influence in Malacca, Cambodia and Siam, and the opening up of trade with Persia, China, and Japan. The difficulties with the Spaniards and Portuguese appear in the first volume, and the violent opposition of the Dutch occupies a prominent position. The abstracts embrace those derived from documents in the Colonial Series, the Domestic Series of Records, and extracts from the Holland Correspondence and that of Spain, Portugal and France. Where a document relating to the East Indies is calendared in both Mr. Sainsbury's Colonial Series and the

Calendar of Domestic Papers, the abstract is generally more full in his Colonial Series. Where periods overlap, the series edited by Sir W. Foster, which include numerous documents previously unknown to students, are generally to be preferred, but not always for individual purposes. Comparatively few of the Foreign documents at the Public Record Office are embodied, and the more limited scope of the English Factory Series necessarily excludes the continuous and detailed record of the contentions with the Dutch.

Documents relating to the East Indies will also be found in the other series of Official Calendars interspersed among those dealing with other subjects.

Colonial Correspondence—East Indies. Now C. O. 77.

C. O. $\frac{77}{5}$ (formerly East Indies 4*a*, 1634, old reference Vol. IV, No. 112) is a parchment exemplification of the East India Company's Charter of 20 James I, reciting earlier Letters Patent of 13 James I, concerning the appointment of Chief Commanders and the punishing of capital offences. Provision for the Revocations of the Power. *Cf. Calendar of State Papers, Colonial—East Indies*, 1630-34, No. 526.

C. O. $\frac{77}{8}$ (1655—63) Original Correspondence—Secretary of State. Contains *inter alia* (1661-62):

E. I. Co.'s demand for delivery of Polo Run by the Dutch. Refusal of the Dutch Agents. E. I. Co.'s Petition to the King *re* damage received from the Dutch. Arbitration requested before ratification of the Treaty.

States-General's Proceedings *re* ships *Bona Esperanza* and *Henry Bonaventure*. Bombay: Complaints of A. de Mello de Castro against Earl of Marlborough and Captain Minors. Captain Ambrose Browne's Journal (extracts). *Cf.* C. O. $\frac{77}{49}$.

C. O. $\frac{77}{9}$ (1663-65) Original Correspondence—Secretary of State. Contains *inter alia:*

Bombay: Non-surrender to English (1663, October 31). Complaint made in Portugal as to non-surrender. Letter to Sir Abraham Shipman, enclosing one to Viceroy of Goa.

Petition and Memorial of the Inhabitants to King Charles II; an account of hardships suffered [? 1663]. *Cf.* C. O. $\frac{77}{49}$.

C. O. $\frac{77}{10}$ (1666-67) Original Correspondence—Secretary of State. Comprises original documents (in many instances in duplicate) and copies of letters relating chiefly to:

Bombay: The King's possessions there, Fishery Rights and Customs, and disputes with the Portuguese.

Sir Gervase Lucas's Reports: His Commission, Instructions and death. Amongst Sir Gervase Lucas's letters may be noted that of 2nd March 1666-67 (C. O. $\frac{77}{10}$ p. 90) to the King, giving an account 'of y^e affairs in these parts.' After referring to the change of Councils in the East India Company he gives his opinion that 'so long as your Majesty continues that company your affairs in these parts will never answer your great designe and noble interests of advancing Trade . . . . As well English as others in these parts are taught to believe they are a body apart from your Majesties' Authority or Government.'

Henry Gary's Reports to the King and various authorities (important).

His differences with Humphrey Cooke. Danger of Dutch attempts.

East India Company's Proposal to take over Bombay from the Crown.

Annual Revenues under King of Portugal, and of King Charles on Island of Bombain, 1667 . . . . etc.

Soldiers: Names of 21, and monies due to East India Company for Pay, Diet, etc.

East India Company: Dissensions between East India Company's servants in India, especially at Fort St. George. Sir Edward Winter and George Foxcroft. Complaints of affronts offered by Mr. Humphrey Cooke, Governor of Bombay, to the English factory at Surat. Complaints concerning the ship Love sent out by Mr. Andrews.

Fort St. George, Madras: Full series of documents relating to dissension between Sir Edward Winter and George Foxcroft. (*Cf.* Love, *Vestiges of old Madras*, etc.).

Dutch in India and Easts: Claim to have defeated English and slain Duke of York, Prince Rupert, etc.

Captain Henry Young's Petition for particular service done to Lord Bellamont in Persia and the East Indies.

C. O. $\frac{77}{49}$ (Formerly C. O. East Indies, 15), described as '1661-1695—Charters, grants, petitions, Orders in Council, Board of Trade Correspondence, etc.'

This is one of the original leather bound series of General Office Books of the Lords of Trade, *i.e.*, of the Committee of Trade and Plantations of the Privy Council appointed in 1675. On a stamped panel on the front cover it is described as 'Entries relating to the East India Company', it is thus referred to in the List of Books belonging to the Committee, drawn up in 1696 by William Popple, clerk of the new Board of Trade, on taking them over from John Povey.

It is described on an inner title-page as 'Journal and Entries relating to the East India Company,' and contains a map, on Mercator's projection, of the Eastern hemisphere (Africa, the East Indies, New Holland, etc.). The loss of original 'Map of Bombain' given by the Portuguese Ambassador on the first 'Overture of Bombain' is referred to—pp. 128, 134.

An Index of the chief matters contained ends the book. The documents are mostly connected with Bombay, its surrender to Great Britain and difficulties with the Portuguese.

The 'Journal' was apparently begun in 1675-76 in connection with these difficulties, but the first 120 pages, approximately, contain copies of earlier documents bearing on the subject pp. 1-46. Charter of the East India Company [3 April, 1661]. 47-75. 'Charter for the Island of Bombay, 27 March, 1668.' 76-93. Grant of St. Helena to the East India Company, 16 December, 1673. 93-106. 'Coppie of H. M.'s Charter to the East India Company' [2nd Charter], 5th October, 1676.

108-13. Petition of the East India Company about Bombain. Title: 'On the 2nd of March, 1675. The Petition of the East India Company setting forth several hardships received from the Portuguese at Bombain is Read. As also a State of their case as followeth . . . .'

114-21. 'Bombain described, how transferred to his Majestie. How afterwards to the Company what Injuries suffered from the Portuguese, what Address made to the Viceroy of Goa, what Answer returned by him, what opinion given by the President and Council thereon, and lastly the sovereignty of the whole Haven and Islands asserted.'

Pp. 122-24. '11th Article of y^e Treaty of Marriage with Portugale' in November 1663, in Latin and English. [Also the 15th Article].

129-33. 'On the 16th of January, 1676 [*i.e.*, 1677] their Lordships take the business of Bombain into their further consideration, and cause the draught of Sir Abraham Shipman's Commission and Instructions to be read as followeth . . .'

Pp. 139-53. Surrender of Bombay. Paper containing the whole Process of the Surrender as it was made on the 27th February, 1664-65. Translation of documents out of the Portuguese certified by Lucas Evans, Notary Public.

158-63. Report about the Jurisdiction and Dependencies of Bombain by Sir Robert Southwell to their Lordships [including the description and expense of Maim Bandora].

167-87. Representation of the Governor, etc., of the East India Company to the Right Hon. the Lords of the Committee for Trade and Plantations [with Inventory of Contents], dated 12th February, 1676 [1677]. Account of their possession of Bombay, etc. Capitulations forced on Cook by Antonio

de Mello: Ports Rights. Forts—Charge and Expense of Forts, etc., etc., 12 special points submitted, etc. The notes by J. Williamson about Bombain S. P. Dom. Charles II, 366, p. 305, abstracted in Calendar of S. P. Dom. Charles II. 1676-77, p. 552, under the same date, are evidently based on this document.

188-89. Petition of the Governor, etc., of the East India Company to the Lords of the Committee for Trade and Plantations. .Further abuses of the Portuguese. Refusal of Portuguese to grant passes to 'Jauncks' for Gombroon.

190-95. Privy Council, 23 February, 1676-77. Report of the Lords of the Committee . . . . On the complaints from the East India Company touching injuries received by them at Bombain from the Portuguese, dated 12th February, 1676-77. [Apparently not calendared in *Cal. S. P. Domestic, Charles II*, nor in the *Acts of the Privy Council*].

195-99. King's letter to don Lodovico de Mendola Ffurtado, Viceroy and Captain-General of India, in pursuance of orders of February, 23rd, 1676-77 (Latin), 10th March 1676-77.

200-29. Alvaro Pires de Tavora's complaint against the East India Company for 238-46, injuries at Bombay. His case, and a series of documents, orders, etc., relating thereto. Orders in Council referring him for Redress to the Courts of Judicature at Bombain. [Not all calendared; but *Cf.* Sir J. W. Williamson's *Notes of Arguments before the Privy Council in the case of Alvaro Perez* [*sic*]. *State Papers Domestic, Charles II.* 366, *in State Papers Domestic, Calendar Charles II*, 1677-78, p. 190.] His submission to the East India Company and restoration to his Estate.

230-34. Customs and Tolls of Bombay. Order in Council, 26 October, 1677. Containing—Report from the Lords of the Committee to the King in Council.

234-37. King's Letter to the Prince Regent of Portugal about the Customs (Latin). 246. Secretary Conventry's Letter to [Gerald Aungier] the East Indian Company's President of Surat on behalf of A. P. de Tavora. 13 March, 1677-78.

N.B.—There is a long interval of time between this and the following entries in a new hand, which seem to have been made after the date to which they refer, possibly Circa 1690.

247. Report of the Attorney-General, R. Sawyer, to the King concerning Interlopers and the East India Company's Petition, 16 November, 1682.

248-49. Order and Report from Lords of Committee for Trade and Plantations, of 13 November, 1680, re Pepper. [Duplicate document . . . . . In margin *vide* Petit and Lib. Trade, Vol. 1, p. 221.]

249-56. 'Minutes of the Council, 18 September, 1690.' Permits for the ships of the East India Company to sail, 1690-94.

251-52. Saltpetre, Price and Purchase from East India Company.

253.

256-57. Elihu Yale's (late President of Fort St. George) Petition to come.

258-59. To England referred to the Committee for Trade and Plantations. Minutes of the Committee upon hearing Mr. Yale and the East India Company, 2nd March, 1694-95.

Key to Colonial Correspondence: East Indies.

(From the Official Lists and Keys).

[Old Reference East Indies.]		[New Reference C. O. 77.]
1.	1570-1621	1. Miscellaneous Correspondence [now described as Original Correspondence—Secretary of State].
2.	1622-23	2. ,, ,, ,, ,,
3.	1624-25	3. ,, ,, ,, ,,
4.	1626-34	4. ,, ,, ,, ,,
4*a*.	1634	5. Exemplification of the Governor and Company of merchants of London—East India Company's Charter 20 Jas. I.
4*b*.	1635-42	6. Miscellaneous Correspondence (see description above).
4*c*.	1643-45	7. ,, ,, ,, ,,
5.	1655-62	8. ,, ,, ,, ,,
6.	1663-65	9. ,, ,, ,, ,,
7.	1666-67	10. ,, ,, ,, ,,
8.	1668-70	11. ,, ,, ,, ,,
9.	1671-73	12. ,, ,, ,, ,,
10.	1674-77	13. ,, ,, ,, ,,
11.	1678-86	14. ,, ,, ,, ,,
12.	[wanting]	,, ,, ,, ,,
13.	[undated]	15. Elizabeth Charles II.
14.	1660-64	C. O. $\frac{389}{1}$ Entry-Book [really 1663-64.]

[Old Reference East Indies.]		[New Reference C. O. 77.]
15.	1661-95	C. O. $\frac{77}{49}$ Charters, grants, petitions, Orders in Council, Board of Trade Correspondence, etc.
16. 1689-1744 now divided into two 1689-1725.		16, 17. Miscellaneous Correspondence.

Colonial Entry-Books.

C. O. $\frac{77}{49}$ has been referred to as an Entry-Book, and as dealing exclusively with affairs relating to the East Indies. It has under the new topographical arrangement been assigned to class C. O. 77; but other so-called Colonial Entry-Books will be found to contain, amongst other matters, documents relating to the Indies.

A large number of the Entry-Books formed part of the Collection belonging to the Lords of Trade. This was passed on by them to the Board of Trade which succeeded them in 1895. Arbitrarily divided in former arrangements of records at the Public Record Office between the Colonial and the Board of Trade sections, the correction no longer exists as a series.

Most of the books of the different Councils and Committees for Foreign Plantations and Trade before 1670 have been lost, some having at one time been in private hands; the few remaining are derived from many different sources.

A Standing Committee of the Privy Council to deal with Plantation affairs was appointed in 1660, and in the same year, and co-existent, a Council of Plantations, and a Council of Trade (*cf.* C. O. $\frac{389}{1}$).

In 1670 the Council for Foreign Plantations was established. The King's Instructions to the Commissioners (July, 1670) will be found in C. O. $\frac{389}{4}$ In 1672, the King extended the powers and membership of the Council, instructing the Attorney-General to prepare a Bill under the Great Seal, appointing a 'Standing Council . . . . . for all the affairs concerning the Navigation, Commerce or Trade as well Domestique as Fooreigne' . . . . . and for all Foreign Colonies and Plantations, excepting Tangier (see C. O. $\frac{389}{4}$). In 1675 complete control over Plantation affairs was restored to a Standing Committee of the Privy Council commissioned as Lords of the Commitee for Trade and Plantations, but generally known as 'Lords of Trade.' Sir Robert Southwell was the first Secretary. The Journal and Entries of their dealings with the East India Company are contained in C. O. $\frac{77}{49}$ (q.v. *ante*).

In 1696 the Board of Trade was established, and a large number of the records of the Lords of Trade were handed over to it by John Povey on their behalf. The list of these drawn up by William Popple, and a brief history of the Entry-Books will be found in Mr. Higham's *Colonial Entry-Books*, the history of the various controlling bodies, in C. M. Andrew's *British Committees, Commissions and Councils of Trade and Plantations*, 1622-75 John Hopkins Press, Baltimore, 1905.

Among the *Colonial Entry-Books*, still extant, to be found amongst the Colonial Records, the following may be instanced in addition to C. O. $\frac{77}{49}$:—

C. O. $\frac{324}{3}$ A Small leather bound note-book, formerly listed as a Colonial Entry Office, and was at one time No. 77, Plantations. This was Sir Joseph Williamson's private note-book, when Secretary of State. *Colonial Calendar*, 1675-76, pp. 154-63, contains a full résumé. We here extract from the original the entries relating to India, in abstract only.

The book is begun from both ends, pages 1-12 being blank except for a few miscellaneous notes. A new paging in pencil then begins.

P. 3. Contains an incomplete List of Contents.

65, Bombain. 2[? March], 1675-76.

E. Indies Pet[ition].

Y[e] Port and Island of Bombain Sovereignty and Property in this by Y[e] King's Grants they complain . . . . . .

P. 66. Notes relating to ' Bombain ' and Portuguese (2 pages).

67. Caranjah and Tanna. ' N. B. Y[e] Opposite Shores to Tanna and Caranjah are in [the hands?] of Y[e] R [aos] princes, not Y[e] Portuguese.' Suggestion that the King should propose to the Portuguese to yield the other islands, etc., ' which would oblidge Y[e] Portuguese to quit those dominions.'

At the opposite end of the Book is written, plantacoñs—For. Dominions. 30 pp. of notes + 1 page of notes on p. 45.

C. O. $\frac{389}{1}$ (Formerly C. O. East Indies, Vol. 14, 1660-64, at one time ' p. 11, T. 174 '). This is the only surviving entry-book of the Council for Trade of 1660. The Title-page inside the leather cover indicates its provenance. ' At this Majesties Council for Trade: att Mercers Hall, London: 1660.'

A copy of the Patent for a Councill of Trade, 7 November 12 Chas. II, [*i.e.*, 1660] is at the beginning of the Book before the paging begins. (See Cal. S. P. Dom. Chas. II, November 7, 1660).

State Papers: Domestic—Charles II.

1665-66. The Papers and Entry-Books contain many documents relating to the sale of the Dutch East India prize ships and advances of money by the East India Company to the King on the prize goods.

1665. S. P. Dom. Chas. II, $\frac{449}{77}$. Contains the Draft Contract between the E. I. Co. and the Navy Commissioners (1682) for the use of two ships to bring home from Angediva the Survivors of the King's forces.

1670. S. P. Dom. Chas. II, $\frac{273}{156}$. Mentions a report of the French King's resolve to trade to the East Indies.

1674. S. P. Dom. Precedents I, f. 7. Provides for the Annulment of Letters Patent of 1643 granted to the inhabitants of Cornwall which might hazard the loss of English East Indian trade; the latter 'being carried on by Forts and factories' required special provision. (*Cf.* Calendar S. P. Dom. Chas. II, 1673-75, p. 291.)

1675. S. P. Dom. Entry-Book 43, p. 16. Two articles given in by the Dutch Ambassador as the utmost he can yield in the matter of trade in the East Indies.

1677-78. S. P. Dom. Chas. II, $\frac{396}{171}$. Notes by Sir J. Williamson about the origin and history of the East India Company.

1682. The Domestic Papers of this year (the calendar of which is in process of printing) contain *inter alia* much interesting information as to the East India Company's affairs, derived not only from the Entry-Books, but from two series of News Letters to New Castle Correspondents, from the papers of Admiralty, *e.g.*, Greenwich Hospital, (2) Great fear for safety for East India ships which recently sailed. Value of drugs, pepper and silk at East India Company's sale. Arrival and reception of the King of Bantams embassy.

French King's declaration concerning East India trade. King Charles's promise of support to the East India Company. Difference between the "Turkey Company," and the East India Company and the His Majesty's attitude towards a new charter.

A large number of Sir Joseph Williamson's Note-books and his Journals from 1667 to March 1669 are amongst the Domestic Papers of this reign. S. P. Dom. Chas. II, 396, No. 171, contains notes by Sir J. Williamson about the origin and history of the East India Company.

State Papers Dom. Chas. II, Nos. 420-450, are still uncalendared. A large number of these are undated.

Among the parchments and pamphlets of case F (1660-77) is a list of goods from India containing many strange designations.

State Papers: Domestic—Jas. II. Nos. 1, 3, 4 (1685-88) contain Letters and Papers. No. 5. Petition and Miscellanea (Committee of Trade).

State Papers: Domestic—William and Mary. There are two separate collections for this period—the one known as King William's Chest, from their

origin in his private cabinet, the second as S. P. Dom. William and Mary. The papers of the former collection begin in 1670 and continue to 1698 and later; the letters and papers of the second cover the period 1689-1702.

It is essential to consult the new List and Index and the key to the references of this period, many of the latter having been altered since the calendars of the William and Mary series were begun.

The Calendar of State Papers—William and Mary, and that of William III have now reached the year 1697, the volume for which is in progress. The letters preserved in King William's Chest are extremely important as regards foreign affairs in general, and those also of the Earl of Portland (written in French, whilst on a mission to Holland); but, their contents being outside the scope of the Domestic Calendars, they are barely touched upon therein.

S. P. Dom. King William's Chest 14, No. 42, contains an important report by Sir John Somers, Lord Keeper to the King, on the Charter and Reconstruction of the East India Company, 12 September, 1693. (Cal. S. P. Dom. William and Mary 1693, 323-24.)

S. P. Dom. William and Mary I, No. 56. Proceedings in the House of Commons, and reference to a Committee of the House, of a Petition of Charles Price and others respecting the seizure of their ship Andaluzia, first in India, and again in England, by the East India Company; also of one from John and Thomas Temple for the sinking of their ship, the *Bristol*. The said committee to consider the whole affairs of the East India Company.

S. P. Dom. William and Mary 2, No. 89. A printed abstract of the case of Samuel White against the oppressions of the East India Company.

S. P. Dom. William and Mary 7 and 8 for the year 1697, and S. P. Dom. Entry-Book 275, contain many references to the dangers of trade with the East owing to the war with France; the convoying of ships; the public transports of joy on the conclusion of the Treaty of Ryswick and the hope of 'very brisk trade' on the cessation hostilities at sea. Arrival of a fleet with a cargo of East India goods worth 6,000,000 pieces of eight; and arrival of 15 Dutch East Indiamen.

S. P. Dom. Entry-Book 275, p 315. Petition of East India Company against pirates in India and their encouragement by the Governor of New York.

Proceedings of the Lords Justices thereon, 5 Oct., 1697.

State Papers: Foreign—Holland.

These are of supreme interest for this period, and the material is very extensive. The despatches of the English Envoys at the Hague are of great

importance, in particular those of Sir George Downing, appointed Resident at the Hague by Cromwell, reappointed at the Restoration, and after the Dutch War sent again as ambassador from 1671 to 1672.

His correspondence is, unfortunately, scattered, his letters to Clarendon and Secretary Nicholas being chiefly in the Bodleian and British Museum Libraries. A few of his letters to Nicholas for the year 1662 are to be found at the Public Record Office; those to Arlington from 1663-66 are nearly complete in the S. P. Foreign Holland Correspondence. Verbatim extracts are printed in Dr. Nicholas Japikse's *De Verwikkelingen tusschen de Rupublick en Engeland* var 1660-65 (Leiden, Thesis, 1900), which deals with differences between the Dutch and English from 1660-65, leading up to the second Dutch War.

For the years 1661-65 the Public Record office also contains a long series of letter—reports from Holland to the English Government from their Dutch Correspondent, Van Ruiven, under the *nom de plume* of Bacquoy.

State Papers; Foreign—Holland, Vols. 60-220, contain the Letters and Papers for the years 1600-99. Undated documents for the years 1600-85 are under No. 219. Nos. 221-23 (1689-97) contain the Correspondence of Mathew Prior, Dr. W. Aglionby, Lord Dursley, Earl of Athlone, Lord Villiers Abraham Kirk and Sir Joseph Williamson.

The following documents serve to illustrate the contents of this class:—

S. P.: For.—Holland, Vol. 170 (1664):

P. 3. Charles Gringand to J. Williamson. 1 April.

1664 (old style). Though Sir George Downing requested the States-General to give satisfaction as to the list of damages and other English pretensions, they left town without doing anything.

6-7. Sir George Downing. 1 April, 1664. His talk with De Witt *re.* list of damages, the 15th Article of late treaty; business of the Hopewell, Leopard, Charles and James . . . (4 pp.)

14. Spanish Ambassador (Gamaria), 8 April, 1664. Promise of Spanish King's joint aid with the states against the Mediterranean pirates.

16, 18, 20, 22. Four copies of French Report of Occurrences. 14 and 15 April, 1664, between Sir George Downing and Duke of Holstein. A question of precedence.

31, 52. Sir G. Downing to Sir H. Bennet. His own account of the above.

35-37. Sir G. Downing to Sir H. Bennet. 8 April, 1664. *Inter alia,* Dutch nettled at the House of Commons discussion concerning question of obstructing Dutch Trade . . p. 37, East Indies affairs discussed with De. Witt. ($5\frac{1}{2}$ pp.)

54-57. Sir G. Downing to the same. 15 April, 1664, p. 55, business of the Treaty for the East India and African Trade. Towns of Amsterdam, Rotterdam and Horne deputed by the States of Holland to deal therewith.

58. Charles Gringand to J. Williamson. 15 April, 1664. "Here is still great talk of warré . . .

60. R. Duke (The Hague) to J. Williamson. 15 April, 1664. 'East India Actions are fallen 28 p. cent att Amsterdam. (1 p.)

76-78. Sir G. Downing to Sir H. Bennet. 22 April, 1664. Again the question of precedence with the Duke of Holstein's Coach, the Courtesies due to Ambassadors, Residents, etc.

81. R. [? C.] Duke to J. Williamson. 22 April, 1660. 'The King of France has brought 4 ships at Amsterdam . . . It is said also that he is sending a fleet of saile to Madagascar to settle a Colony there, it being a fitt place for him to pirate in, it being a place going to and from the East Indies.' (1 p.)

92-93. Sir G. Downing. 29 April, 1664. *Inter alia*, p. 93, 'a private conference with 2 or 3 of the principall of them whereby to trye how neere we can come to understand each other both as to the satisfaction for what is passed and a reglement for the future in the East Indies and upon the Coast of Africa.'

96. Sir G. Downing to Sir H. Bennet. 29 April, 1664. 'East India Actions are fallen this week to 409 so that you see what opinion ye people here have of a warre with England.' (2 pp.)

99. R. Duke to J. Williamson. 29 April, 1664. East India Affairs at the Hague, Amsterdam, etc.

111-16. Sir George Downing to Sir H. Bennet (with enclosures). 6 May, 1664. States of Holland satisfied with H. M.'s answer to Parliament. Discussion of damages, etc., with De Witt. List of damages to be ready in a few days. Disagreement as to *Bona Esperanza* and *Henry Bonaventure*.

p. 117. R. Duke to J. Williamson. 6 May, 1664. Dutch satisfaction. List of damages. (1 p.)

119. Memorial of Sir G. Downing to States-General of United Provinces, 7 May, 1664, damanding speedy justice and reparation for injuries. . . . Particularly deals with the East India Company, and precautions for the protection of English trade in future. (2 pp.)

122-27. 'Mons. Bacquoy,' 10 May, 1664. General Dutch News. Indignation of States-General at English demands. (11 pp.) Endorsed 'matters prefatory to ye warre with England.'

130-32. Mons. Bacquoy. 12 May, 1664 and 13 May, Containing Extracts of Resolutions of the States-General.

144. C. Gringand to J. Williamson. 13 May, 1664. General News.

145. R. Duke to J. Williamson, 13 May 1664. 'East India business, the States-General appointed 24 Commissioners to consider ye business of *Bona Esperanza*, etc., in particular.'

148. Translated 'Extract out of ye Register of the Resolutions of the H. M. the States-General.' 13 May 1664. Deliberation 'to desire Ye Lords of Holland to give order in their Province that the English may have expedition of Justice.' (½ p.)

149. Sir George Downing to S. H. Bennet. 13 May, 1664. Dissatisfaction in the provinces of Low Countries other than Holland. '"Why then" say they, "should we engage ourselves to spend our monies to maintain ye insolences and violences of the East India Company." . . .'

152-55. Mr. Bacquoy. 17 May, 1664. Reports News Concerning English and Dutch.

156-60. Mr. Bacquoy. 29 May, 1664. Reports upon Sir George Downing's Conferences with the Deputies of the States-General on the 25th of same month, *re* ships *Bona Esperanza* and *Henry Bonaventure*. (p. 159 ff.)

163-65. Sir G. Downing to Sir H. Bennet. 20 May, 1664. Reports meeting with Deputies of States-General *re* ships Bona Esperanza and Henry Bonaventure, and the meaning of the words *litem inceptam prosequi* in the 15th Article of the late treaty; also a subsequent conference. Full discussion. An important document. (4½ pp.)

167. Notes [? of Sir J. Williamson].

168-72. Sir G. Downing to Sir H. Bennet. 20 May, 1664. Further report. Poleroon also mentioned.

170. (Inserted in the above) Chas. Gringand, 20 May, 1664. Reports Sir G. Downing's meeting and the Resolutions of the States-General; also concerning the words, *litem inceptam prosequi.*

173. Translated 'Extracts of Resolutions of H. M. Lords States-General of the United Provinces' 27 May 1664. Lists of damages caused to Dutch and English exchanged. No other pretensions to be produced by either side after exchange of lists.

179-86. Mr. Bacquoy. Report 25 May 1664, *re* Dutch East India Company, with copies of their letters to the States-General and one of the Secretary Cunens. (Important).

187-88. States-General to King Charles II, 4 June 1664, about the ships *Bona Esperanza* and *Henry Bonaventure.* (4 pp.)

p. 196. Mr. Bacquoy. 31 May, 1664. Concerning the ships *Bonaventure* and *Esperanza.* (6 pp.)

205 to end. King's letter to States-General, *re* ships *Henry Bonaventure* and *Bona Esperanza.* May, 1664. Draft.

S. P. Foreign—Holland, Vol. 178 (1665-66). Of the numerous papers in Dutch, the important ones in relation to East Indian affairs are the despatches from Paris of Van Beuningen, relating to treaty negotiations and the English and Dutch rival claims for reparations, Poleroon, etc., and the conditions proposed by France as Mediator.

S. P. Foreign—Holland, Vol. 179 (1666-67.)

Out of 84 papers in Dutch, only 7 or 8 relate to East Indian Affairs; but, as before, Van Beuningen's are important. The general correspondence of each country forms a distinct class under its own name, but these classes do not embrace the whole of the records relating to the country.

The Foreign Entry-Book constitute a very important series of 271 volumes comprising Secretary's Letter-Books, King's Letters, and Précis-Books, etc. :—

Vols. 17-19. Include France (1669-89) Secretary's Letter-Books;

Vols. 60-70. Holland (1672-1703), Vol. 65 (1674) containing the Journal of the Marine Treaty with Holland.

Vols. 164-200. Of the Miscellaneous section include from 1603-1700 King's and Secretaries' letter Books dealing with more than one country, and including France, Holland, Denmark, Spain and Portugal Vols. 176-80 are the Journals of the Committee of Foreign Affairs, 1667-78.

Vol. 239. Contains Instructions to Ambassadors, 1676-79.

State Papers: Foreign—Archives. Vol. 219. One of Sir Joseph Williamson's special Entry-Books relates specially to East Indian Affairs. Inside the cover in his own handwriting is the following note: 'England and Holland. The two E. Indy Companys. Copys of Papers put into my hands and otherwise layed by me together in order to Ye Treaty at Cologne. 1673 J. W.' This volume apparently contains, arranged in chronological order, all the Petitions, Correspondence, etc., relating to the disputes between the two Companies, English and Dutch, from 3 April, 1668, to Oct. or Nov., 1669. The 'Discussions of the Various Articles' are annotated. Table of contents at end of volume:—

pp. 1-3. East India Company's Petition to the King touching things impracticable and doubtful in Ye Treaty Marine, 3 April, 1668. 'Order of H. M. in Counsel on said Petition' (same date).

3-7. 'Memorial presented to Ye Lords of Ye Counsell, for Trade, and reported to his Majesty in Councill, April 10th, 1668.' Impracticability of 8th Article especially in India 'where there is no Admiralty in being, nor any marine officers. . . . ($4\frac{1}{2}$ pp.)

90-91. 'Memorial delivered to Lord Arlington, and Mr. Secretary Trevor, 2nd July 1669, with the Articles drawn up together as Ye Companie's final proposals . . . .'

91-97. The final Articles delivered with the foregoing Memorial. ($5\frac{1}{2}$ pp.) The volume includes letters from Van Beuningen and Sir W. Temple: Two memorials concerning Macassar, 10th and 13th May, 1669; and Dutch Articles transmitted by Sir W. Temple.

Manuscripts relating to the East Indies in the Bodleian Library.

1636-37.

Papers connected with Sir William Courteen's Expedition to India and China, 1635-38.

Ms. Rawl. A. 299, fols. 188-225.

f. 188. 14 February, 1636-37. A coppie of a letter from Beer Buddra Naige [Vira Bhadra Nayak] Kinge of Mallinar [Malnad], dated the 14th of February, 1636, translated out of the Canara language in to Portuguez, and Englished.

This letter is reproduced in the Travels of Peter Mundy, ed. Temple, Vol. III, pt. 1, p. 74.

f. 188*a*. 1 March, 1636-37. A second lettre from the Kinge [of Batkal]

This letter is also reproduced in the volume noted above, p. 92.

f. 189. 12 March, 1636-37. A third letter from the Kinge.

Reproduced on p. 93 of the volume noted above.

f. 190-198 (198-200 blank). 14 April, 1636—1 April, 1637. Journall conteyning the memorable passages in the voyage of the shipps *Dragon*, *Sunn*, *Katharine*, *Planter*, *Ann* and *Discoverie* for East India. Begunne from the Downes, le 14 April, 1636.

This document is a duplicate of state papers, Dom. Chas. I, CCCLI, No. 30, at the public record office. Nearly the whole of the account has been incorporated in the volume of The Travels of Peter Mundy noted above.

f. 200 *b*-205 (206 blank). 1636 [? 1637]. Accounts of merchandise sold during the voyage. Endorsed; A calculation of what goods are sould, and

what Remayne for the proceede of the voyage. These accounts give the values of the goods sold in 'Sherefins, Tangs, Vints, Basaks', and in £ *s. d.*

f. 207. 4 May, 4 and 17 June, 1636. Consultations held aboard the ship *Dragon* on the outward voyage. (Duplicates on fol. 214.)

f. 208. 17 July, 1636. A copie of the Directions for Rendezvous, etc., given Mr. Miller, Master of the *Ann*, with the provisions ordered to be delivered her le 17th July 1636. [The *Ann* was unable to keep up with the fleet and was left behind to find her way alone to Goa] (Duplicate on fol. 215.)

f. 208-10. 26 September, 1636. Consultation held aboard the ship *Dragon*. Publication of orders by the Commanders of the fleet. Three consultations were held on board the ship on this date.

f. 210-11. 1 and 14 November, 1636. Further Consultations held aboard the *Dragon*.

f. 211, 213. 3 March, 1636-37. Ditto. 9 March, 1636-37. Ditto.

f. 212. 16 March, 1636-37. 'Commission and Directions for our Lovinge Friends, Mr. Anthony Vernworthy appointed Cheefe Marchant of the Factory of Baticala, for the better mannaging of all such affaires and occasions of moment as may happen in the tyme of his Residence there.' Signed by John Weddell and Nathaniel Mounteney.

Printed in The Travels of Peter Mundy ed. Temple, Vol. III, Pt. I., pp. 103-5.

f. 216. 4 April, 1637. Commission and Instructions for Captain Edward Hall, Commander of the Planter.

f. 218-21. 19 December, 1637. 'Coppy of the general Lettre sent to the Company per the shipp *Katharine* from Macao, le 19th of December, anno 1637.'

Printed in the travels of Peter Mundy, *op. cit.* as Appendix D, pp. 475-88.

f. 222. Invoice of goods shipped aboard the Ship *Planter*.

f. 223-24. An undated copy of an answer to a letter from the President and Council of Surat, written at Goa.

The portions in the collection of papers noted above that have not been used by Sir Richard Temple are those that do not bear directly on Peter Mundy's Journal.

1640.

Log of the Frances to Madagascar.

Ms. Rawl. A. 334.

An ordinary seaman's journal.

1647-64.

Some writings belonging to Mr. Nicholas Buckeridge relating chiefly to Persian affairs during his stay at Gambroon [Bandar Abbas] and his residence at Ispahaun: collected by his son B [ayanbrigge] Buckeridge.

Western Ms. 36883 (now Ms. Eng. hist. C. 63), 90 fols.

This Ms., which is damaged by damp, contains valuable remarks relating to trade in the 17th Century, directions for Voyages in the Indian Seas, Journals of travel, etc. The most important items are:—

N. Buckeridge's petition to the 'Ettaman Doulett.' A set of farmans from the King of Persia, 'Shaw Sephi.' A list of farmans with translations of certain of them into Latin, English, etc.

f. 15, 34, 80. Lists of prices of commodities in Persia and in England in 1658-59.

f. 27. An account of the river 'Quadran.'

f. 29, 30, 66. Directions for buying taffeta, diamonds and pearls.

f. 35. Accounts kept by John Lewis at Isfahan, 1647-48, with a list of presents, prices of horses, etc.

f. 43, 44, 56. Journal of voyages to Macassar in 1655-57 and instructions for such voyages.

f. 46. Dry measures of Cochin.

f. 50, 51, 73. Voyage to Mozambique, 1651.

f. 54. Instructions for Nicholas Buckridge at Mocha.

f. 59. Consultation held at Bender [Bandar Abbas] 1659.

f. 73. Instructions for Mr. Buckridge for the coast of Sofala.

f. 73. Contains a good impression of the seal of the E. I. Co.

f. 75. A list of presents, prices of goods, at Isfahan, etc.

f. 81. A list of the Company's yearly charges in India, Persia, etc.

This Ms. also contains some Dutch and Portuguese documents at fols. 58 and 61.

1673.

Charter of Charles II dated 16 Dec., 25th of his reign, granting St. Helena to the Company.

Ms. Rawl. B. 516, fols. 28-35.

1674-75.

Minutes of the proceedings of the Royal Commissioners appointed to treat with the Dutch Deputies regarding trade and navigation and the Treaty regulating the East India trade of both nations, 27 July, 1674—8 March, 1675.

Ms. Rawl. A. 302, fols. 7-75.

The meetings were held at Fishmongers' Hall, and a list of those present at each meeting is given.

The proceedings are concerned with the 12 propositions presented by the E. I. Co. 'importing their desires' with respect to the Treaty:—

(1) Concerning the besieging and blockading of towns, cities, etc.

(2) Reciprocal non-interference with trade.

(3) Contracts with natives.

(4) Procedure if either country be at war with any native power.

(5) Passports.

(6) Losses and damages to be adjusted by an umpire. See also C. O. $\frac{77}{9}$ (P. R. O.) pp. 76-93.

(7) The island of Dam to belong to the English E. I. Co.

(8) Native residents to remain undisturbed.

(9) Privileges in the ports of either nation.

(10) Subjects of both nations to be undisturbed in their trade with Indians.

(11) Bribery of native officials to be prohibited.

(12) Procedure in case of war between England and Holland.

These points are fully discussed with many references to the Treaty Marine.

11 March, 1674-75. The articles were finally presented to the King after the Dutch Commissioners had left the country, before which the English and Dutch Commissioners dined together on the date noted above.

1676.

Charter of Charles II dated 5 Oct., 28th of his reign, granting additional privileges to the Company.

Ms. Rawl. B 516, fols. 56-57.

1681.

Propagation of the Gospel in the East.

Ms. Tanner XXXVI, fols. 57, 67, 86.

21 June, 1681. Letter from Dr. Fell to Archbishop Soncroft regarding the intention of the Company to raise money for the propagation of the Gospel in the East.

1 July, 1681. Report of the committee appointed to consider Dr. Fell's propositions.

6 August, [1681]. Letter from Dr. Fell to Archbishop Soncroft. The appointment of clergy to serve in the East is vested by the company in the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishops of London and Oxford.

1686-87.

War with The Mogul.

Ms. Rawl. A. 257, fols. 253-70.

f. 253. Case of the company for declaring war against the Great Mogul, by Sir Benjamin Bathurst. The Company had a farman for trade and paid only two per cent Custom until the Dutch and Interlopers persuaded the Mogul to impose 3½ per cent. both at Surat and in Bengal.

The Company originally had privileges and power to recover their debts; now they have to apply to Darbars or Courts of Justice and are compelled to pay one half in order to recover the other half of the whole due to them.

The Company can get no satisfaction for the £160,000 owed them by the Mogul.

The Dutch say that they will force the Mogul to exclude the servants of the Company and all Europeans from the Bay of Bengal, by making war upon his subjects there.

By their charter the Company have a right to make war upon heathen nations, but a further Commission direct from the king is desirable.

f. 255. Draft of a commission to the King's ships to make war on the Great Mogul in behalf of the E. I. Co.

f. 256. List of ships designed to be sent out with the above Commission.

f. 259. Instructions from the Company to their Agent and Council in Bengal respecting war with the Mogul approved by King James II, January, 1686-87.

f. 270. Instructions to the Councils of Surat and Bombay respecting the same, approved by the King.

1687.

List of Ships abroad, 1 May, 1687.

Ms. Rawl. A 189, fol. 119.

1688.

Original Copy of a representation from Dr. St. John to the King.

Ms. Rawl. A. 171, fols. 52-59.

[James 11] on the affairs of Hindustan and of the E. I. Co. Dated aboard the *Success*, 18 July, 1688. Enclosed in a letter from Dr. St. John to John Pepys, dated Windsor Castle, 29 August, 1688.

The Ms. is very closely written. It contains a long account of Aurangzeb's wars with Sumbhaji, the seige and capture of Bijapur and the seige of Golconda in 1687. The Embassy to Shah Sulaiman, etc.

The writer dilates on Aurangzeb's aversion to all Christians.

He gives an account of affairs in the Bay of Bengal and describes the bad state of the factory at Surat, and reports a better state of affairs there under a new Governor.

He remarks on relations between the Portuguese and the Mogul, the action of the French in Siam and the state of Dutch trade in India.

He complains of the despotic attitude of Sir John Child at Bombay and of the Company's ill-treatment of himself.

1692-94.

Sixty-one letters and notes to Robert Blackborne, Secretary to the old Company, from Sir Josiah Child 1692-94, with some scattered notes of earlier date.

Ms. Rawl. A. 303, Art. 47, fols. 202-311.

These last appear in their chronological order.

f. 295. 14 April, 1692. Recommends the bearer, Mr. Read, as a Sergeant for Fort St. George and to go on board Capt. Neworains ship at once. Dated from Wanstead.

f. 247. 10 May, 1692. Encloses draughts of what he thinks the company should send immediately overland to Surat. He thinks they should give the

security demanded by the Barons of the Exchequer. Captain Heath must fit the *Defence* for Sea, to sail with the *Resolution*.

f. 250. 5 June, 1692. Concerning abatement of freight on pepper from Surat. Dated from Streatham.

f. 207. 6 June, 1692. Concerning 'our Adversaries' and prize money. He had opened the whole matter to His Majesty formerly. Dated from Wanstead.

f. 297. 2 July, 1692. If the Company can have 5 per cent. for their saltpetre, it may be enough from their Majesties, although private persons give 5½ per cent.

f. 287. 15 July, 1692. Sir Josiah Child is going to Cannons. He hopes that he and Mr. Woolly will continue the correspondence. Dated from Wanstead.

f. 301. 22 July, 1692. He hopes that the Company will send out this winter at least four three-decked and eight two-decked ships. Dated from Cannons.

f. 203 10 August, 1692. The Dérectors should insist on having twelve ships for the winter exports, but any rate five are absolutely essential. The *Resolution* should sail in October for Bombay, three more to the fort and the Bay, and one to St. Helena and Bencoolen.

'The Lords may do with us what they will, as they have for 50 years past to my knowledge, to the great detriment of the country and Company.'

f. 300. 1 September, 1692. Recommends Josiah Cliff to go to India as a factor by the next ships.

f. 210. 15 October, 1692. Concerning Stores for their next shipping. 'I see noe consistance in the Bill for a new Company, and believe it will come to nothing.'

Dated from Streatham.

f. 223. 18 November, 1692. He does not doubt the company's business will 'go to their content.' They should have 'Casa Punos' a witness in their cause.'

f. 311. 26 November, 1692. He recommends Job Bright to go in the next Ships for India. Dated from Wanstead.

f. 235. 3 December, 1692. The *Resolution* and *Defence* to go to Surat, Lead, cloth and Kintlage to be provided for them, but no tin.

f. 304. 21 December, 1692. List of names of persons to 'give Mr. Norrey.' Dated from Streatham.

f. 288. 22 December, 1692. Requests that Mr. John—'Fidsherbert' may be entered for a factor for Fort St. George by the next ship. Dated from Streatham.

f. 224. 22 December, 1692. Concerning a certain Indulgence; list of stores; soldiers wanted at Bombay; the Company's settlement by Act of Parliament. Dated from Streatham.

f. 218. [? 1692.] Enclosing a draft of two letters for the committee to correct, concerning matters of trade at Ispahan and Capt. Heath's accounts.

f. 219. [? 1692.] The three ships at Gravesend should be despatched immediately.

f. 262. [? 1692 or 1693.] List of ships about which Mr. Snelgrove has informed Sir Josiah Child, among them the London Frigate, etc.

f. 307. 5 January, 1692-93. A recommendation to William Morris for factor to Bengal or Madras and to his brother Bezaliel Morris to accompany him as a writer. Dated from Streatham.

f. 303. 11 January, 1692-93. Satisfactory news from India. Arrival of the *Dorothy* from Madras. Dated from Streatham.

f. 292. 3 March, 1692-93. He hopes the Co. will be successful in their petition to parliament. He advises that 'Coja Panuse' should be paid without delay. He desires that Mr. Bright, Sir Job Charlton's Kinsman, now going to India as a factor, may change one of his securities for another, etc.

f. 286. 22 March, 1692-93. He recommends that Mr. Cormell be permitted to go aboard his ship. Dated from Wanstead.

f. 291. 22 March, 1692-93. He desires that Capt. Heath's account may be settled, as otherwise he cannot go to sea. He must consult the Govr., and the Dep. Govr. before finishing the Genl. Letter.

f. 293. 1 April, 1693. An order for Mr. Poole who was to go to Surat but was left behind, to sail in the *Defence*. Dated from Wanstead.

f. 214. 11 April, 1693. Notifying the transmission of letters to London.

f. 248. 13 April, 1693. Concerning the bond of Mr. Poole's friend.

f. 267. 24 April, 1693. He advises the departure of Co.'s four 'Coast and Bay' ships. There should be no danger from one Interloper since twenty have been baffled formerly. He proposes that Capt. Oyles be ordered to fit his ship for India, with any other two or four to be found: protection could easily be obtained for six ships. Dated from Wanstead.

f. 231. 25 April 1693. Mr. Charnock is to be advised that the Interloper has only permission to go to Madeira. Dated from Wanstead.

f. 208. 19 August, 1693. He returns all letters and papers except the Abstract of the Fort Letter which he keeps because he sees that Mr. Yale 'hath put in a charge against' Mr. Fraser, whom he is confident is an honest man. Dated from Cannons.

f. 205. 8 September, 1693. Concerning the sailings of the *Dorothy* and the charge for her freight. Dated from Cannons.

f. 275. 22 September 1693. Regarding the sealing of a bond. The Company's business is 'often in his thoughts' during his 'country leisure.' Dated from Cannons.

f. 294. 9 October, 1693. An introduction for the bearer to the committee of buying of goods. Dated from Cannons.

f. 279. 12 October, 1693. He has agreed for an eighth part of Captain Rang's Ship, which is to go to Fort St. George and Bengal.

f. 211. 19 October, 1693. Concerning the freighting of ships. Sir John Morden is to be informed that the *Kempthrone* will be either laden or sold immediately. A reference to Mr. Lightborn's 'Second proposal.'

f. 309. 21 October, 1693. The Co. and owners of the ship are willing that Capt. Oyles should depart from Gravesend the 20th November, and out of the Downs on the 20th December. He need not carry Kintledge. Dated from Cannons.

f. 302. 5 November, 1693. Concerning the selling of lead by the Duke *of Bolton*.

f. 265. 7 November, 1693. He has 'discontinued Courts' for so many years that he is not willing to recommence attendance at them. He will however, give advice. He thinks it best to obtain the opinion of each individual adventurer as to whether such investor wishes the return of the money invested, or to be credited for the same in the Co.'s books. Dated from Wanstead.

f. 264. 30 November, 1693. Remarks concerning the Cargo of the *Dorothy*.

f. 249. 1 December, 1693. He has lent the King £6,000 on the Million Act. He is about to purchase land which will absorb all the money he receives from the Company, so that he cannot lend more than £5,000. Dated from Wanstead.

f. 308. 5 December, 1693. He recommends that, at Capt. Heath's request, the *Amity* have the same terms regarding her stay at St. Helena as were accorded to the *Benjamin*. Dated from Wanstead.

f. 202. 13 December, 1693. He hopes that the Government does not intend to buy two interloping ships, which would be a dead loss in time. The freights this year are heavy. The Co. owe a voyage to the Wanstead Frigate. Dated from Wanstead.

f. 222. 18 December, 1693. Concerning the sending of a new chief to Bencoolen. Remarks on the assassination of the Governor of St. Helena. Keeling suggested to fill his place. Dated from Streatham.

f. 259. 22 December, 1693. Sir John Goldsborough's project concerning a protestant Portuguese Church at Fort St. George is being carried out and the

English Litergy is now being translated at Oxford. Remarks on the proposition by ' Coja Panuse ' to calender various goods.

f. 241. 26 December, 1693. The bearer, William Hicks—recommended as a writer for India. Dated from Wanstead.

f. 230. ? 11 January, 1693-94. The petition of Elizabeth Child for the Company's charity (though no relation of Sir Josiah) is recommended to the Governor.

f. 281. 11 January, 1693-94. He returns the sealed packet with additions to the letter to Bengal and Madras. He enquires if Galloway is a safe port. The *Dorothy* must not stop at Tonquin. Remarks about the—Protestant Portuguese Church at Fort St. George. He has added to the Fort Letter a clause about the numerous new adventurers. The same should be repeated to Surat and Bengal. It is reported that Mr. Heath is about to creep out in an Interloper. If this is true, he is not fit to be a factor. Dated from Wanstead.

f. 305. 15 January, 1693-94. Advice as to the sailing of the *Thomas*, the sending out of bullion and the coining of it. The *Thomas* should take out at least £50,000 for Surat. Direction about the Cargo of the *Thomas*. A paragraph to be added to the letter to Persia about sending money to Surat and one to the Fort about coining silver into rupees.

f. 289. 24 January, 1693-94. He sends a paragraph to be added to the Bengal letter. He remarks on goods bought of the Armenians at great profit to the Company. Dated from Wanstead.

f. 204. 29 January 1693-94. Advice as to the sailing of Capt. Janaper. The sailing of the *Martha*, *London* frigate and *Thomas*. The long services of Mr. Ackworth, chief of ' Retora ' should be brought to the notice of the Company.

f. 276. 5 February, 1693-94. The Company's sealed orders should be furnished to Mr. Langleys as he is going where there is no settled Council. He has been requested to procure certain stuffs.

f. 212. 9 February, 1693-94. Capt. Raynes must be at the head of the outgoing fleet. Next in command to him, Captains Hatton and Oyles. Remarks on the Cargoes of the *Martha* and *Success* and on the treasure on board the *Nassau* and *Mary*. He suggests that a letter be written to Sir John Goldsborough and Council to send down the £30,000 required to Bengal by the *London* Frigate. As regards the indulgence requested by Capt. Hatton, the Co. will defer considering it until they know the result of the decision of Parliament with regard to their Charter.

f. 215. 20 February, 1693-94. Concerning a present for the Governor of Surat, and a gratuity to Mr. Addis from the Co. for his services.

f. 226. 21 February, 1693-94. He returns drafts of petitions to Parliament with remarks. Note of the lading of saltpetre on the *Berkeley Castle* and the *Samson*.

f. 209. 3 March, 1693-94. He requests a charter party for the *Tonquin* of which he and Capt. Heath are owners the commander being Mr. Page Cable [? Keble.] Dated from Wanstead.

f. 232. 6 April, 1694. If the *King William* sails for Surat on the 1st September, She may put in at St. Helena and carry rafts, deal boards, etc., also young people desirous of settling on the Island. Dated from Wanstead.

f. 285. 12 April, 1694. A recommendation of Mr. Waring to serve as a writer in India and to sail by the next Surat Ships.

f. 266. 25 April, 1694. Concerning Dr. Woodrif's bill and the binding of books. Dated from Wanstead.

f. 310. 24 May, 1694. Concerning the adjustment of all ships' accounts, the bill for the *Benjamin* and *Tonquin*, the shipping of soldiers on the Company's Ships. The *Tonquin* or any other ship cannot be expected to carry two tons for one. Dated from Streatham.

f. 219. 30 May, 1694. The Captain of the *Mocha Merchant* to be Admiral of the outgoing fleet, the Capts. of the *Tonquin* and the *Benjamin* to be in next rank. Dated from Streatham.

1692-94.

Six letters and notes to Mr. Woolley from Sir Josiah Child.

Ms. Rawl. A. 303, fols. 200, 233, 243-46, 290.

f. 246. 31 August, 1692. A copy of Capt. Dorrill's Charter desired.

f. 313. 1 September, 1692. He had received letters and news-papers 'which please continue to send, as I must take some measures in the Co.'s affairs from the more public occurrences upon which ours depend. Forget not to get a bill for B wharf signed next court' we have been 'almost 1½ years out of that money.' Dated from Wanstead.

f. 243. 5 September, 1692. 'The Governor, and Deputy Governor, agree that you should give an order to Capt. Oyles to survey the new ship at Mr. Dorsett's dock which please dispatch.'

f. 244. 21 September, 1692. 'Pray hasten your Brother's Charter-party with the Company's Secretary, and if you can get the ship into the Downs next month She may go to China.' Dated from Wanstead.

f. 245. 3 October, 1692. If 'mightily imports' the Company to hasten their ships 'with all speed.' Their ports be fixed later, but the *Resolution* and *Defence* will be enough for 'Surat side.' Dated from Streatham.

f. 290. 1 November, 1692. He has looked over the packet. He expected before this to hear that the pirates in India, who comprise all nations, Danes, Dutch, English and French, would cause trouble. He hopes that the disturbance was over before the *Kempthrone* came away. As to Sandys' many actions, the best way to bring him to reason would be a short bill in Chancery. Dated from Wanstead.

f. 200. 27 April, 1693. He returns a letter with his signature. 'If I leave not what the Governor would have altered, need write no private letter' 'Nothing but an additional stock will do the Company's business and the dispatch of our ships before the season is lost.'

f. 233. 22 March 1693-94. He has persued the Charter-party for the *Tonquin* sent to him by Capt. Heath, 'wherein I have made some alterations.' The dates appointed for the departure of the ship from Gravesend and the Downs cannot possibly be complied with, but the *Tonquin* will be as forward as any. Dated from Wanstead.

1699.

Coynes, Weights, and Measures of India.

Ms. Rawl. A. 302, fols. 249-50.

Metchilipatam, 14 July, 1699.

Value of pice in relation to cash and the rupee, of the rupee and the fanam to the pagoda, etc., and of the pagoda to English standard gold.

Weights: Cash in relation to Seer; Seer to the Maund Cutcha; pice to cash and oz. troy weight.

Gold and silver weight, Sicca rupees in relation to Seer, and troy weight. Ballasore, 13 August, 1699.

Weight of Sicca rupees in relation to troy weight; of pice in relation to Seer bazaar and avoirdupois; and of the bazaar maund in relation to avoirdupois. Hughly, 10 October, 1699.

Sicca rupees of Rajamaul and of Madras in ounces; Teculls, Cattees, and Peculls in ounces.

Long Measure: Various kinds of 'Guz.'

Weights: Maund, Seer, rupee.

Muxoadavad, 17 December, 1699.

Value of Cutcha pice, pucca pice, Seer Bazaar, maund, 'anoe'; of Covads, Bega of ground, 'Russa,' course in miles, etc.

f. 250. Other notes on various comparisons of the coins, weights, etc., mentioned above.

C. 1699.

Miscellaneous notes concerning goods exported, value of Coins, with a list of Commercial papers 'sayd to be Mr. Langley's.'

Ms. Rawl. A. 303, Art. 29, fols. 134-43.

f. 134. Rough notes of exports of the old and New Companies, Michaelmas 1698—February, 1699.

f. 135. Rough notes of the value of bales of broadcloth, pepper, etc. Notes as to the money due on freight, extent of the Dutch ell, value of the rupee, Seer of 20 pice weight, Customs rate, etc.

f. 137. Notes of the value of current monies at Amsterdam.

f. 138. Notes on the value of the ducat.

f. 141. 'Abstract of papers, etc. Sayd to be Mr. Langley's papers, marked No. 9 received from the fleet frigate, perused per Mr. Sandford, Mr. Williams and W. T., 28 December, 1697.'

'A waste Ledger.'

'A Ledger begun to be framed containing an account of the contents of each Bale of cloth and how disposed off, but the credit parte not posted.'

'Account of goods packt up and shipt on board the *Dorothy,*' etc.

f. 143. 'Invoice of goods shipt on board the *Dorothy* and consigned to Mr. Samuell Langley on account of Thomas Magle, 8 February, 1693-94.'

Manuscripts relating to the East Indies at All Souls College, Oxford.

1668-69.

Collection of papers respecting the Treaty Marine.

Ms. All Souls College, fol. 205.

f. 1. April, 1668. Petition of the East India Company to the King, touching the Treaty Marine.

3 April, 1668. Order of His Majesty in Council on the above.

9 April, 1668. Memorial presented to the Privy Council.

f. 2. 8 July, 1668. Order of His Majesty in Council on the Company's proposals. Reports of the Lords Committee upon same.

f. 3. 15 July, 1668. Order of His Majesty in Council, giving particulars proposed by the East India Company.

f. 7. 23 October, 1668. "A paper in answer to some objections made by the Dutch."

f. 8. 5 December, 1668. "The Abstract of a Letter from Sir William Temple communicated to the Governor from Sir John Trevor," with the Company's answer to the same.

f. 9. 4 January, 1669, S. N. "A Letter from Sir William Temple to the Lord Arlington, Hague."

f. 10. "The Company's Answer to the foregoing Letter."

f. 11. 1 December, 1668. "Answer to the Articles proposed to the Lords States General by the Ambassador Temple."

f. 12. No date. "Sir William Temples lettre."

"Compas. memoriall with a Draught of all the Articles desired to be insisted on by the Lord Ambassadour."

f. 14.* 31 January, 1669. "Monsr. Van Benninghams letter to Mr. Secretary Trevor," Amsterdam.

f. 16. No date. "Answer to Monsr. Van Benninghams lettre."

[? 1682.]

Papers having reference to the East India Co.

Ms. All Souls College, 239.

f. 436-37. Unsigned letter to Sir Leslie Jenkins concerning matters discussed with him the day before, relating to alterations in 'the present East India Company,' which 'I observed stuck with his Majestie.' The letter also refers to the New Charter, new subscriptions, controversy between the East India Company and the Turkey Company, etc. The letter is dated 8 June, but the year is missing.

f. 451-52. A paper without title or signature suggesting that the East India Company's patent being under debate, his Majesty himself should put £200,000 into the stock. The sum need not come out of his own purse but could be lent him upon the credit of the Co. The writer brings forward arguments in favour of this scheme. The letter contains a mention of the year 1680, but the document is undated.

f. 453. 17 April, 1682. Paper referring to the petition of the E. I. Co. heard by the Privy Council, to new money subscribed, and expressing a hope that the New Charter may be determined and that the money subscribed may be taken into the trade under it. The writer conceives that thereby no prejudice will arise to (1) His Majesty's Government, (2) his revenue, (3) the East India trade.

f. 454. 'The two Questions proposed.'

1. 'What expedient they would offer to make the trade of the East India Company lesse prejudiciall to the Nation than it is now said to be.'

2. ' What they will offer for the particular Government of a new Company, that the power may lie in the hands of such only as shall be well affected to the present Government.

Answers to the above. No date.

f. 455. An unsigned letter relating to the new subscriptions for the East India Company, to the silk trade and to the prejudice of the Turkey merchants against the same.

Privy Council Registers.

1616-17.

Warrant of the Privy Council, dated 24 March, 1616-17, for the transportation *of criminals.*

P. C. 2/28, fols. 601-2.

Persons condemned to die for ' robbery or felony (willful murther, rape, witchcraft or burglary onely excepted) ' who may be considered ' fitt to be employed in forreine discoveryes or other services beyond the seas ' may be certified in writing by Judges or Serjeants in Law and may be reprieved and employed as proposed. But if they refuse to go or if they return before the time limited they shall be subject to the execution of the law as first adjudged. In pursuance of this power John Browne is reprieved and appointed to be delivered to Sir Thomas Smith, Govr. of the E. I. Co. or his assignees to be conveyed into the East Indies or other parts beyond the seas.

There are several similar transportation orders in the succeeding volume, P. C. 2/29.

1622.

Letters from the Privy Council to His Majesty, dated 19 November and 3 December, 1622....Conferance with the Ambassadors of the States General.

P. C. 2/31 fols. 513-15, 526-27.

The following points are discussed: Disputes regarding Bantam; Pepper brought into Holland; restitution of goods at Lantore; the Exchange of reals of sight.

No satisfaction was obtained. The Ambassadors refused to permit the erection of forts at Molucca, Amboyna and Banda, although the treaty period had elapsed, long discussions had taken place, but no settlement was reached. The Ambassadors had withdrawn to Newmarket, ete., etc.

1623-24.

Declaration of King James of 30 January, 1623-24.

P. C. 2/31 fols. 568-69.

Regarding various points of the East India business. Freedom to both companies to Erect forts in India under certain conditions, excepting only Molucca, Banda and Amboyna, forts built by the Netherland Co. since the treaty to be demolished; remarks on ships of defence, punishment of offences, payment and victualling of garrisons, enforcements of courtesy and good treatment to English subjects by Governors and others, etc., etc.

1624.

Proceedings of the Privy Council, 5 August, 1624.

P. C. 2/32 fols. 407-8.

The East India Company desire to be wholly separated from the Dutch and therefore wish the treaty to be declared void. They further desire to be allowed to erect forts in India and to be guaranteed against loss of from Dutch ill-usage. They request that a Dutch ship, now in Plymouth from the East Indies (value £60,000) may be seized and also measures taken to capture four other Dutch ships shortly expected, etc., etc.

The Council notes the Company's apparant hesitation as to accepting His Majesty's offer to become an adventurer.

1663.

Proceedings of the Privy Council, 21 October, 1663.

P. C. 2/56 fol. 586.

Petition of the East India Company read, stating that an Edict has been promulgated in Spain prohibiting the importation of any East India commodities into the Spanish Dominions, unless brought by the Netherlands East India Company. The East India Company is ordered to wait upon the Secretary of State who will draw up instructions to the Ambassador to be sent to Spain, so that due care may be taken for the protection of the trade of the Company.

Complaints received from the East India Company of injuries done to them by the Dutch. A committee appointed to consider proposals for the prevention of "mischiefs which threaten the ruine of their trade by the exhorbitant power of the Dutch in the East Indies," and also for the preservation of their trade and the protection of His Majesty's subjects trading thither,

1666-67.

Orders in Council, of 20 March, 1666-67.

P. C. 2/59 fols. 344-47.

The petition of the East India Company complaining of damage received in the East Indies: (1) at Bombay by Mr. Humphery Cooke; (2) in the Red Sea by the Ship '*Love*' (3) at Fort St. George by Sir Edward Winter. This having been referred to a committee they report:—

(1) Upon the misdeeds of Humphrey Cooke who is already recalled.

(2) Damage not proved but the future safeguarding of the company's charter suggested.

(3) Witness examined on the conduct of Sir Edward Winter. Summary of deductions. The company request that Foxcraft may remain as Governor at Fort St. George until they send a successor.

The committee recommend the granting of the company's petition. Ordered: The Governor of Bombay to aid and assist the company. Security to be taken from ships going to the Red Sea. Sir Edward Winter dismissed from the Government of Fort St. George and recalled home: his person and state to be carefully guarded. Mr. Foxcraft to continue one year longer, etc., etc.

The above points are treated with considerable detail and the whole document is of much interest.

Some Series of Seventeenth Century Records at the India Office.

The India Office, as recently pointed out by Sir William Foster, C.I.E., now official Historiographer, contains the second largest accumulation of historical documents in the United Kingdom—a fact little known—and the range of subjects and countries to which they relate is but little recognised.

The fact that the Calendars of State Papers, Colonial—East Indies, of Mr. W. Noel Sainsbury, to the year 1634 (including every document of the original correspondence series to that year) were issued by the Public Record Office, and that many of the original Mss. Calendared are to be found there, coupled with the general rule of Centralization of Public Records in that store-house of the National Archives, may have helped to mislead many students. Although the history of the Dutch in the East is so closely related with that of the struggle with England for supremacy in the trade of the East Indies, so distinguished an authority as Professor Blok, in his Preliminary Survey of Archives in England relating to the History of the Netherlands, does not mention the India office collections. The omission may

have been a deliberate one, the examination of the India Office Records being reserved as within the purview of the specialist on Colonial History, whom Professor Blok considered it desirable to send to England. Whatever the cause, these Archives have not been included in the subsequent investigation of Dr. Brugmans, who, at the time of his visit to England, hampered by the want of detailed catalogues at the Record Office, as well as in some great English Libraries found it an impossible task to examine every document, and was thereby led to the course of first cataloguing documents relating to certain selected periods of Dutch history existing at the Public Record Office. Neither Dr. Colenbrander nor Dr. Japikse quotes from any sources at the India Office, although letters and papers from the Bodleian, and various College Libraries, and from the Lambeth Archiepiscopal Library are reproduced or analysed in their works.

For a complete Summary of the various Series of Records at the India Office and indications of the contents of the most important among them, as well as an outline of their history and vicissitudes, the student must be referred to Sir William Foster's indispensable handbook, the Guide to the India Office Records, 1600-1858, issued in 1919, by the India Office.

Of the ten printed Press Lists of the present Record Department, three contain the documents of the period with which this report is immediately concerned, namely the Seventeenth Century:—

List of the Marine Records (1896), by F. C. Danvers.

List of the Factory Records (1897), by F. C. Danvers.

General Records, 1599-1879 (1902) by Sir Arthur Wollaston.

The above lists were only printed for official use, and hence are not generally available; but copies are on the shelves of the Reading Room in the India Office Library. The Catalogue of the Libary should also be consulted.

The notes given below relate mainly to documents not hitherto analysed or calendared or to series not already in process of publication, and are derived from direct examination of the originals; but a brief reference to the Chief Seventeenth Century Collections, based on the official lists and publications, may also be of some practical interest and is therefore appended as a preface to the more detailed description to follow.

In addition to the original records kept in the Record Department, important collections, such as the Mackenzie, the Orme, and the Philip Francis Mss. are preserved in the India Office Library. A detailed catalogue of the two collections of the Mackenzie Mss. by Mr. C. Otto Blagden was published in 1916 as Vol. I of the Catalogue of Manuscripts in European languages belonging to the Library of the Indian Office; a Catalogue of the Orme Mss. by Mr. S. Charles Hill was issued as Vol. II, in the same year.

It may be noted here that a Catalogue of the Home Miscellaneous Series of the Records, on a similar plan, is now being compiled by Mr. Hill.

Although the Orme Mss. consist principally of eighteenth century documents, there are a certain number relating to the Seventeenth Century, *e.g.*;

No. 260. Memorandum of Surat, 1660-61.

No. 263. Original Journal of the *Loyall Merchant*, Nicholas Millett, Commander, 7 April, 1663 to 26th July, 1664, containing an account of Sivaji's attack on Surat.

A manuscript index to Dutch voyages is also amongst the papers. A full index to the Catalogue forms a guide to the contents of the papers, as far as they have been analysed.

Included in the Mackenzie Collection are many translations into English, of Dutch printed works and of Javanese Mss. The Section known as the 'Private Collection' comprises matter in English, Dutch, French and Portuguese, though the first two languages largely predominate. Although a considerable portion of the material consists of copies or translations, there is much besides, and much that either is unique or exists elsewhere only in Ms., *e.g.* Copies or duplicates of Dutch records, of which the originals or other copies are preserved at Batavia. Some of the unpublished documents are 'of very considerable value'; among the more notable of these are those relating to the Dutch Government of the Coromandel Coast, with its centre first at Pulicat and later at Negapatnam, and especially a series (not quite complete) of reports of outgoing Governors, beginning in 1632 and ending in 1771.

Marine Records.

The Journals of all the East Indian voyages of the East India Company, from 1600 to 1616, were in the custody of Richard Hakluyt, first Historiographer to the Company, and after his death came into the hands of the Rev. Samuel Purchas. In 1625, the latter published in four volumes, Hakluytus Posthumus, or Purchas his Pilgrimes, containing the materials drawn from the journals and some other sources, the framing 'those materials to their due place and order', as he conceived them, being his own 'Artifice'. Of the originals, many have been lost; others only exist as fragments; of those that remain many are damaged. The loss, originally due to neglect, was increased in latter years by wholesale destruction ordered by the Company in 1818 and 1860. The earliest Journal extant among the Records of the India Office, is a fragment due to an officer on board the *Ascension* (probably *Falconer*), covering but a few days (31 July—4 August, 1605) of the Second Expedition.

Abstracts of the Ships' Journals, 1610-23, are contained in Marine Records, Section III, Miscellaneous, No. 3, q. v.

The reference numbers and description of all those preserved in the Record Department of the India Office will be found in the List of Marine Records

by Mr. F. C. Danvers, the introduction to which should be studied as well as the notes in the Guide (p. 106 *et seq*).

Particulars of the Journals of the early voyages based on the above List are given below, and a number of the unpublished Seventeenth Century Journals have been selected for examination. All notes of any historical interest have been reproduced in full, and all portions of the Journals, other than the mere routine entries of an ordinary ships' log, have been extracted—generally in extenso. The contents are varied—the fight of the 22nd Aug. 1673, off the Indian coast between the East India Company's fleet under Captain Basse and twenty Dutch ships; a mutiny at St. Helena against the Governor; minor mutinies on board ship; facilities for victualling at various places and the price of provisions; details of the Company's trade; incidents of the life on board; lists of Seamen, soldiers and passengers; sufferings due to disease and deaths of Seamen and passengers; occasional references to marriages; mentions of strange birds, beasts and fishes, some of abnormal size—these matters and much else are to be found recorded within the pages of the Journals.

Miscellaneous, No. II.

Bound in red leather—contains several documents, some of which retain earlier covers. Earlier cover, labelled: 'Voucher No.   shewing that the paper cited as a Treaty in Bruce's Annals, Vol. I, p.   , was but the project of a Treaty'.

Miscellaneous, No. XXVII (Part I).

1685-86. *The Committee of Shipping.* Red leather binding, lettered as above. Within, original vellum binding, lettered: Committee for shipping, 1685, 1686. [On a former label, 249.] A note is inserted, 'This book should go with any other Volumes of the Committee of Shipping (1599-1834) as part of the Records of the old Shipping Office (abolished in 1834 in favour of the Marine Department) which were handed over to the Marine Department. There are not many of these volumes but they are very valuable in many ways to any one writing an account of the E. I. Co. (Shipping, etc., etc.) prior to 1700.

'[Signed] Cruason,

'1882.'

A large portion of the work of the East India Company was referred or delegated to Committees, at first 24 in number. The Shipping Committee was one of the most important of these. It came to an end with the Company's trade, in 1833. Its records were handed over to the Marine Department, and

in 1860 the Minutes and Reports of the Committee, prior to 1813, were recommended for destruction.

But one volume of Minutes for the 17th Century that for May, 1685—Dec. 1686, has been preserved, and now forms part of the Marine Records, Miscellaneous (Vol. 27, Part I).

The more important portions of this document are extracted Verbatim below, in particular the resolution obliging commanders of ships to obey orders of the E. I. Co.'s General Agent and Councils in all the Factories (p. 7), and the introduction of a new clause in the Charter party for the purpose.

The range of subjects touched upon in the volume is very great, including the provisions of all necessaries, from bread, beer, beef, brandy and brimstone, a 'Chirurgery chest for Priamon' to bullet-moulds, badges for drummers, 'Blew Breeches and Blew Stockings' and red coats for the soldiers, cordage, guns and silk colours. We learn that the pensioners of the E. I. Co. apparently received 2*s*. 6*d*. a week from the Popular Almshouse Fund, that passengers from London to St. Helena paid £6 each, and to India £8; and that surgeons were paid 'head money' at 5*s*. and 3*s*. per passenger. The contemporary index prefixed is an efficient guide.

The pages are un-numbered.

Factory Records.

The important seventeenth century documents forming the chief part of this series were 'roughly calendered' by Dr. (afterwards Sir) George Birdwood whose Report on the Miscellaneous Old Records of the India Office (first printed for official use in 1879) should be read by all. The work of classification was continued by Mr. F. C. Danvers, and the Press List of the section was printed in 1897.

The two chief series relating to the period under consideration, are the seventy-one volumes of the original correspondence, 1602-1712, containing letters received by the Company from all its settlements, and the Letter Books containing the despatches of the Company to their Settlements and agents. There are besides, the various sections of records of individual Agencies and Factories.

The original correspondence is in course of publication either in full or in abstract form. From 1602 to 1617 the letters are printed verbatim in Letters Received by the East India Company from its Servants in the East, six volumes 1896-1902, the first volume having been published in 1896 on the initiative of Mr. Danvers. From 1618 to 1654 abstract of the letters from India (and some other places), contained in the O. C. Series, the correspondence in the Letter Books and the Sectional Factory Records, are arranged in strictly chronological order in the English Factories in India, a series edited by Sir William

Foster. Documents in the Public Records Office, the British Museum and in Indian Record Offices are included, the 'unifying element' being supplied by an introduction. Publication was interrupted during the late war, and on resumption, it was found necessary to modify the above method in the volume for the period 1655-60, published in 1921. A point had been reached where the existing materials increased so greatly in number (the documents analysed reaching 500 for the year 1659, and 300 for 1660, instead of the early average of 75 to a year), that it became imperative to change the procedure and 'to extract merely those passages which seemed to merit preservation, and to connect them by a narrative which would at the same time embody the information obtained from other documents . . . . (which it was) not necessary to quote in full'. The arrangement, partly chronological, and partly geographical, makes it easier to follow the course of events. Extracts from the same document often appear on different pages. Besides the sources already mentioned in connection with the preceding volumes, use was made in the new volume of copies of letters received at Madras, 1658-60, now among the Rawlinson Mss. in the Bodleian Library, and of transcripts furnished by the Bombay Government (see Preface to English Factories in India, 1655-60.) The last volume published covers the year 1660.

A detailed list of the O. C. Series from 1602 to 1709 forms Volumes 711 and 712 of the Home Miscellaneous Series.

Abstracts and extracts from the letter Books, 1658-79, are contained in volumes 33-35 of the same (Home Miscellaneous) Series, whilst a full calendar of all documents available from many sources for the year 1655-59 is now to be found among the Factory Records, Miscellaneous, Volumes 28-31. Volumes 19 and 20 of the last named section, containing material for the story of the Embassy of Sir William Norris, 1699 to 1702, have been freely used by Mr. Harihar Das for his volume on the subject, now in preparation.

The French in India.

This section of the General Records (p. 85) contains but one volume within the 17th Century, *i.e.*, Volume I (1664-1810), comprising Miscellaneous correspondence, etc. References to the French, however, are numerous in the Dutch Records, as well as in those of the English East India Company. In the *Revue del'histoire des colonies francaises*, Mr. S. C. Hill gives 'a list of documents in the India office records having a special interest for French students'.

Portuguese Records.

The Portuguese Records at the India Office consist of a large collection of transcripts obtained from the Lisbon Archives. Translations are available

for all the volumes containing seventeenth century documents, a combined list of transcripts and the relative volumes of translations being given below.

These documents were utilised by Mr. F. C. Danvers in his work The *Portuguese in India, being a History of the Rise and Decline of their Eastern Empire*, two volumes, 1894, which contains a bibliography of authorities, including materials for the History of Portuguese India (Subsidios . .) published by the Lisbon Academy of Sciences, as well as the *Livros das Moñcoes* (1605-18).

Copies of letters from Portuguese Governors, etc., principally from Goa and Malacca, some in Portuguese, others in Dutch, with English translations or abstracts, are to be found amongst the *Hague Transcripts* [Dutch Records, B. I. 57, 3]. The unhappy condition of the Portuguese settlements is described in an intercepted letter of 1638-39 [Dutch Records, B. I. 57, 5]. Other Portugues letters will be found in the Dutch Records for the years 1642 and 1644.

For the connection of Portugal with Bombay see The *Anglo-Portuguese Negotiations relating to Bombay, 1660-1677*, by Dr. Shaffat Ahmad Khan, first printed in the *Journal of Indian History*, Series No. 3, Sept., 1922 and reprinted in the Allahabad University studies in History. The translations and transcripts from the Portuguese Archives to be found at the India Office, consulted for the purpose of the abovementioned work, yielded little of importance in this respect. Abundant material is however, provided in the Letter Books and Correspondence of the East India Company and its agents.

List of Seventeenth Century Manuscripts relating to British India in the Guildhall Library, London.

1695-96.

Letter from Sir John Gayer, Governor of Bombay to Sir Stephen Evance, Lombard Street, dated Bombay Castle, 19th March, 1695-96.

Ms. No. 1525 (Box 12).

He gives an account of trade, with a note of sword blades sold and the balance paid to Captain Randolph Pye. He reports trouble at Surat caused by Pirates.

1699.

Letter from Sir John Gayer to Sir Stephen Evance, dated Bombay Castle, 11th December, 1699.

Ms. No. 1525 (Box 12).

News of investments for the Company Diamonds 'extreme scarce and dear' —can only get bad ones at extravagant rates.

1709-10.

Letter from Sir John Gayer to Sir Stephen Evance, dated 6 January, 1709-10.

Ms. No. 1525 (Box 12).

He remarks on Mrs. Cornwall's estate and the "ill character" of her brother, Mr. Annesley, who is guilty of a 'detestable falsehood' in denying that he holds Rs. 4,000 of said estate in his hands.

He comments on the business methods of the Old and New Companies. The Union is of no advantage to the Company's servants. Diamonds are bad and scarce—none were procured from Golconda last year.

Manuscripts relating to the East Indies in the Archiepiscopal Library at Lambeth Palace.

1619 (before July).

Propositions of the English Commissioners [relating to the proposed Treaty for the Joint East India trade of the English and Dutch East India Cos.], beginning 'The Commerce and Trafficke in the East Indias shal be free as well for the Company of England,' etc.

Gibson Mss. Vol. V, Ms. 933, No. 3, also No. 5.

Twenty-five articles with marginal notes, undated copy. $3\frac{1}{2}$ pp.

No. 5 is a duplicate of the above. The propositions differ in some respects from the Treaty of 7 July, 1619, as finally concluded and printed in Rymer's *Foedera*, the order of Articles 1 and 2 also being reversed. The annotated Articles containing the chief points of difference and the relative marginal notes are as follows, the words underlined being thus marked in the copies of the 'Propositions.'

[Article 5.]

'And to avoid all jealousies indirect dealing and future difference which may happen: the principalls of each partie shall meet and confer together at Bantam and other places of the Indies and agree of a moderate price as shalbe thought meet to give for Pepper. And to that end certayne sufficient men shalbe appointed by consent of both parties to buy the same which being so bought shalbe *divided equally to each party a moiety*.'

'5. Upon this article we breake for the Hollanders will not agree to a division, nor our merchants have it otherwise.'

[Article 6.]

'In the Isles of Moluccas, Banda and Amboyna, the Companie shall by mutuall consent, be so ordered that the Company of England shall partake *an half portion* of all the trade as well in the Commodities to be brought together and those to be sold; as in the fruites and merchandize there to be bought and exported. And those of the United Provinces shall have the other moiety.'

'In this we shalbe content with the ⅓ part.'

* * * * * *

[Article 20.]

'And for the Forts and Garrisons to be continued and mayntayned, in the Isles of the Moluccas, Banda and Amboyna, serving for the common assurance of the Commerce, they and for so many of them shalbe appointed and continued as shalbe thought fitt and necessary by the Councell of Defence of both Companies. And the forts *on both sides shalbe* divided according to the respective proportions of the trade and . . . of *both* (each) Companies and shalbe accordingly holden and mayntayned.'

In this we shall yield to Hollanders to keepe their owne fortes.'

1619.

Discours anent the Union Of the E. I. Traders of England and [the Low Countries].

Gibson Mss. II, No. 146.

Begins 'The Directors of the Companie of Lowe Country Marchants trading into the East Indies, haying seene a certain writing which came from the English Marchants tradinge into the said Indies . . . they undertake to further as followeth': "First that it is impossible and therefore not to bee gratified to make a common capital: between the two Companyes," etc. (11 pp.)

c. 1625.

[*Remembrances*] *for Mr. Murray.*

Gibson Mss. Vol. XIII, Ms. 941, No. 99.

1. "His Majesty well wishing to the Duke of Savoy his ambition to have been King of the Romans—falling in so unfortunate a conjuncture. Which by the surprisall of Comte Mansfels papers at his defeate the freedom his Majesty used in confidence with the Marquis? Tornelli, and the suppositions

of Sir Issak Wake his making Heydelberg his way to Turin may be well presumed to have taken winde, and indeed but the Spanish Ambassador and a servant of King Ferdinand's have not obscuredly signified so much to me.'

2. 'His Majesties Princely, and our memorable labours in settling the East India trade between his subjects, and the states of the low countryes, and underhand abbetting of the new erected Company for the West Indies as is conceyved in the world and I can assure you doth crampe the Spaniards at the heart.'

Endorsed: 'For Mr. Murray. The Spaniards exceptions against His Majesty, (1 p.)'

1645-46 20 March.

[*Edward Montagu, Earl of*] *Manchester, Speaker of the House of Peers pro tem*, to Mr. [Walter] Strickland, Resident [for the Parliament] with the States. General of the United Provinces.

Cod. Chart. in fol. Ms. 711, No: 6 (p. 1).

'The Parliament of England having caused declaration to be made ordering that Justice be duly administered touching the restitution of two ships belonging to the States of the United Provinces and their merchants, and earnestly demanding that the States be mindful of the damages sustained by the Subjects of this Kingdom, as in particular by William Courten Esquire on account of the loss of his ship bearing the name of *Bon-Esperance*, of London, with his goods and merchandize amounting to a very considerable sum. And since the East India Company of the States of the United Provinces has seized these, as appears by a declaration of the 15th August, 1645, and afterwards by the care and diligence taken to advance a matter of this sort, which so greatly concerns the honour of the Nation, and the rights of its subjects; so that I can in no wise doubt [the same]; and can do no less (after having considered the humble and earnest petition of the said Mr. Courten) than recommend to you by these words the just, but none the less rigorous condition, as it may be termed, and declare that you are to see to the progress thereof with the States, as being on the spot, and I rest entirely assured in the care you will take of the matter and the conduct thereof, in which this House also has full confidence: and not being commanded to inform you of aught else for the present.'

'[I am],

'Your good Friend,

'Signed E. MANCHESTER,

'Speaker of the House of Peers or Lords of England, *pro tem.*, London, 20 March 1645—.'

(French 2 pp.)

1660 24 September.

[*Daniel*] *O'Neal*, (*Groom of the bed Chamber*), *to King Charles II* [*from the Hague*], reporting *inter alia* an interview with De Witt, his presentation of credentials and letters to Mons. Bererens, proposing a loan to the King and a request that the regicide refugees should be delivered to English Justice. The Burgomaster of Amsterdam and Mr. de Witt express their readiness to further the loan and to serve the King.

Tenison Coll. Ms. 646, No. 1.

[Printed in Japikse, *DeVerwikkelingen*, etc., App., p. II.] *Cf.* S. P. Dom. Charles II, 6 September, 1660, p. 259: 'Mr. O'Neale is sent to the King for the Princess of orange who is to come direct to England without taking France in her way.'

Further Light on the Bargi Invasion of Bengal.

(By Prof. J. N. Samaddar, B.A.)

In the paper submitted by me to the sixth meeting of the Indian Historical Records Commission held at Madras, in January 1924, I drew the attention of the Commission to the paucity of materials relating to the *Bargi Invasion* of Bengal, in view of the fact that the Nagpur Marhattas left us no historical material and that the raids were undertaken by the now defunct house of Nagpur, no historical records are available. I suggested in that paper that the Factory Records at Fort William might be examined, but no action appears to have been taken in that direction. I had, however, the privilege to place before the Commission a very important and at the same time a contemporary record, in Bengalee, previously untapped, relating to this important question and subsequently in the columns of *Bengal: Past and Present* (Volume XXVII, 1924), I gave a tentative translation of this, the *Maharastra Purana*, which throws a flood of light on the situation. I have now the further privilege to draw the attention of scholars, through this, the eighth sitting of the Commission, to another record, also in Bengalee, though less valuable than the previous one, which also unfolds a stage in the Marhatta incursion of Bengal and which also, like its predecessor, does not appear to have been utilised hitherto.

It is a song—or more properly a ballad (গাথা)—sung in Bishnupore in the district of Bankura—known as (মদন মোহনের বন্দনা) *Madan Mohaner Vandana* (Adoration of the god Madan Mohana). Its authorship is unknown, though a reference to the two following lines leads us to believe that it was composed by one of the priests of the god of the rajas of Bishnupore—once a

powerful house in Bankura which figures prominently in Vaisnava literature. The lines are as follows (I am transcribing just as I find them):—

"কেশরে চন্দনে গুলিতাম, মাথাইতাম গায়—আমী ফুলের ফুলকাটি লটকন দিতাম তায়"

"I dissolved sandal, etc., which I anointed and I hung on flowers on his body."

That the ballad was composed after the invasion of the Marhatta general, Bhaskara Pandit, is also evidenced by internal proof, but the date must be before the second incursion of the Marhattas as there is no reference to it. That it was evidently written after the loss of the idol is proved by many references, when very likely the priest or priests of the god were put to extreme grief at this serious and irreparable loss. The date of the incursion of Bhaskara is 1742, the second invasion is dated 1760 and the ballad was, therefore, composed, between 1742 and 1760. This date is further corroborated by the fact that Raja Gopal Singh in whose time the first Bargi Invasion took place ruled from 1712-1748.

The ballad, as is the custom of all such, contains a large amount of extraneous matter, with which, we, as students of history, are not concerned. Needless to add that there are also various different renderings. For the purpose of our paper we have taken into consideration four variants:

(*a*) a version collected by the late Kaviraj Sures Chandra Sen Gupta of Bishnupore,

(*b*) one kindly supplied to me by the Headmaster of the Bishnupore school,

(*c*) one for which I am indebted to Babu Ganga Govinda Roy who has also helped me with certain references,

(*d*) a fourth one collected by Babu Sujay Chandra Das, B.L., whose fore-fathers were the Diwans of the Bishnupore Raj.

Regarding the references to the Bargi invasion of Bhaskara, the accounts in the main all tally, though the description, here and there, is slightly different. I shall put before you two of the accounts only.

(1) From the one collected by the late Kaviraj Sures Chandra Sen Gupta. "The Bargi, Bhaskara, having thought of attacking the Fort, decided to loot it after its capture. After having looted Murshidabad*[1] and Dacca[2] he came to Bishnupore, but was unable to cross the ditches of the Fort. At midday, he came to the ghat of *Mundamala*,[3] but was thrown into despair

*[1] *Vide Seir Mutacherin*, Vol. I, p. 393.
[2] There is no reference to this in any book.
[3] The tradition is that after the defeat and consequent massacre of the Mahrattas, this came to be known as "The Ferry of the Heads."

at the sight of the guns which were properly arranged, but as there were no gunners,[4] he thought it an easy matter to capture the fort. He tried to cross the ditches. A gunner of the Raja came to know of it and finding that the Bargis were on the point of crossing the ditches surrounding the Fort, fired the guns but as this could produce no effect, he went to the Raja and informed him of everything. The Malla[5] asked the king what he intended to do to prevent the Bargis, but the king replied that he had no friends excepting the god, Madana Mohana, and he, in despair, ordered that in every house should be chanted *Sankirtana*. Victory to Madana Mohana was shouted from every house with proper music. The Raja himself threw away his sword and began to dance to the accompaniment of *Haribole*. Twenty-two thousand soldiers threw off their weapons and began to shout loudly *Haribole*. The lord, Madana Mohana, understood the situation and immediately a horse began to run. Many people ran after the horse but who could catch it with the "lord" on its back? The horse stopped at the ghat, whence it was seen by Bhaskara Pandita. He saw that a boy of twelve dressed in blue cloth was standing on the ramparts with a sword and a buckler. The other Bargis saw apparitions. Some saw him standing like a mountain, others saw him as a veritable god of Death. There was a hue and cry among the Bargis who fled in hot haste. Cannons began to fire off balls and the Bargi Chief with his followers became senseless. On hearing the sound of the cannon, the Raja sent for his seven hundred gunners stationed at the ghat and then the truth became apparent that the god, Madan Mohana, had himself taken up the defence of the fort and driven away the Bargis."

(2) I now render into English the second variant.

"One day fifty-two thousand Bargis came to the country with the intention of looting the fort. The gunners went and informed the Raja, who replied that his only hope was in Madana Mohana. The ominiscient knew it and himself went out to drive away the Bargis. The god dressed himself in military accoutrements and set out riding on a horse. The Bargis saw him. Some were frightened at his huge dimensions: others saw him like a range of mountains, many took him as the veritable god of Death. On the ramparts were the guns, inside which was put eighty maunds of gun powder. Taking two guns in his two armpits, the god began to fire them. Many Bargis were killed and many more became senseless at the sound itself."

Much of the above may be considered legendary. That the Raja might have resorted to prayer was quite possible. He must have been down-right frightened at the approach of the Bargis at whose hands even the Subadar

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[4] As will be seen later on, there were gunners but either they were withdrawn or had left the guns.

[5] Malla-gunner. The Rajas of Vishnupur and the members of their family had this title.

of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa was defeated time after time. That the Raja had issued an order that all his subjects should count their beads and say *Harinam* is evinced from the fact that even now in that part of the country, evening prayer goes by the name of Gopal Singh's *begar* (forced labor). The fact, however, cannot be denied that the Bargis met with a check and the Mahratta forces were unable to pierce the strong fortifications. When the very Subadar could be worsted on different occasions, no earthly power and specially a local Raja could withstand the freebooters and this miraculous victory was naturally associated with a miracle.

Such in short is a side-light on the Bargi invasion of Bengal. It is a mere side-light. The details are not sufficient enough to satisfy our curiosity, but when data relating to the Mahratta incursions are so meagre, perhaps, some importance may be given to this little incident. There is no doubt that by collecting such material and sifting them, scholars may some day have the satisfaction of obtaining sufficient facts for the reconstruction of the Bargi invasion of Bengal. And let us not forget the adage "many a little makes a mickle."

Some unknown dealings between Bijapur & Goa.

(By Rev. H. Heras, S.J., M.A.)

One of the Sultans of Bijapur who has become more famous is Sultan Muhammad Adil Shah (1626-1656), commonly known as Sultan Mahmud. The celebrated Gol Gumbaz, under which he lies buried, has spread his name all over the world. While searching after manuscripts related to the downfall of the Vijayanagara Empire in the Portuguese Government Archives at Pangim, I found a series of documents dealing with some unknown relations between this Sultan and the then Governor of the Portuguese dominions in the East, Dom Bras de Castro. Among these documents there are four Persian letters of the Sultan himself written on beautifully decorated Daulatabadi paper.

I shall now give here a chronological account of the events related in these documents. I may as well announce that the *Basatin-us-Salatin* or History of Bijapur keeps absolute silence about the happenings I am going to narrate.

I.

Danvers says that in the year 1654 the Sultan of Bijapur who was then Muhammad Adil Shah marched against Bardez and Goa with an army of 5,000 men. The author relates then the capture of Tevy (Tevim) by the Musalmans,

as well as their retreat and their further invasion of Salsette.[1] But in these letters we find many new interesting details unknown to Danvers.

And the first of these details is the Embassy of the Sultan of Bijapur in the beginning of 1654. Dom Bras de Castro wrote to his Majesty about it on January 24th of the same year 1654; and both on February 7th, and December 15th, 1655, the intruding Governor wrote again to the King of Portugal, about the same subject. These are the two letters I found in the Archives. Dom Bras relates that before the beginning of his governorship an Ambassador of the Sultan of Bijapur had reached Goa. His name was Melique Acute (Malik Yakut). And in the second of these letters he is said to have been a eunuch. He had then been appointed *Havaldar* (Governor) of Ponda. The purpose of this embassy was "to continue the past disputes" most likely about the territories of Bardes "for which he had brought some Soldiers." Moreover the Ambassador earnestly demanded a certain stone, called *Balaes* (Bezar-bezoar), which, the Sultan supposed, was kept at Goa. It seems the Sultan had seen an engraving of it from Europe, and he was desirous to purchase such a specimen. He had insisted on this bargain several times, and was never convinced that the stone had never been at Goa.[2]

Malik Yakut brought moreover to the Portuguese Governor a firman of his Sultan allowing the Jesuit Fathers of the College of St. Paul of Goa to reside at his Court, wherein they would be given a house. I vainly searched for this firman in the Panjim Archives; it must have gone to the Jesuit Archives at Goa and finally sent to the Torre do Tombo, Lisbone as so many papers belonging to the Convents and Religious Houses of Goa. Dom Bras de Castro, who most likely saw the firman, clearly speaks of it.[3]

Accordingly when Malik Yakut returned to Bijapur some weeks after, a Jesuit Father accompanied him. This was Fr. Antonio Botelho. He brought a present to be offered to the Sultan on behalf of the Governor[4], and informed Muhammad Adil Shah of the favourable disposition of Dom Bras towards Bijapur, which pleased the Sultan exceedingly. Besides this, a letter of Dom Bras himself was handed over to the Sultan by the Jesuit.[5]

In the meanwhile Malik Yakut did his best to incline his sovereign to favour the Portuguese. The Governor in his letter to the Portuguese King says that Malik's conduct could be a sign of his gratitude to the Portuguese, by whom he was treated so princely during his stay at Goa; but he adds that his way of proceeding is most likely due to his private interest.[6]

Anyhow he obtained from the Sultan two farmāns favourable to the Portuguese. The first was addressed to Śivapa Nāyaka, the Chief of Ikeri in

[1] Danvers, The Portuguese in India, II., p. 308.
[2] Ap., Nos. 3, 4 and 12.
[3] Ap., No. 3.
[4] Ap., No. 12.
[5] Ap., No. 4.
[6] Ap., No. 3.

South Kanara. This petty ruler had aggrandised his territory, capturing forts and towns of the neighbouring kings, and finally invested the four fortresses of the Portuguese in the Kanara Coast. Both these fortresses and factories were Mangalor, Barcelor (Barsoor), Cambolim (Gangolli) and Onor (Honovar). The three first had already fallen into the hands of that enterprising man, who so weakened the power of the Portuguese in the South of India. And by this time Onor was tightly besieged by the army of the Kanarese Chieftain. In the Panjim archives there are many documents about these wars which will be published in the second volume of my history of *The Āravīdu Dynasty of Vijayanagara.*

It will be enough at present to say that Dom Bras de Castro spoke to Malik Yakut about that fatal war and the Ambassador inclined Muhammad Adil Shah to favour the Portuguese cause. Accordingly the Sultan despatched a farmān to the Ikeri Nāyak commanding him to raise the siege of the fortress of Onor at once and to retire to his capital. The Sultan, who boasted sovereignty over the whole Kanara, gave the command as his subject chief's overlord, but Sivapa Nāyaka continued the siege of Onor defying the orders of the Sultan.[7]

Another farmān issued by the Sultan about this time was addressed to the Governor of Goa. The purpose of Muhammad Adil Shah was to have at his Court Fr. Goncalo Martins, a Jesuit, who had already been sent as the Governor's Envoy to Sivapa Nāyaka and was, it seems, acquainted with the Sultan himself. On this occasion Muhammad Adil Shah requested the Governor to send Fr. Martins together with a lay Brother expert in the Art of painting to his Court of Bijapur.[8]

This letter to the Governor is the first of the four Persian letters of the Sultan mentioned in the beginning of his paper. An old contemporary Portuguese translation signed by the official interpreter Crisnaasinay (Krishna Sinay) is found in the same volume and may be read in the collection of the *St. Xavier's College Indian Historical Research Institute.* The English translation, made straight from the Persian original, runs as follows:

"Don Bras Wacaster Colonel Waizri—of high rank, conscious of pomp and grandeur, possessing sovereignty and chiefship, the crocodile of the seas and the lion of the ocean—Island of Goa."

"May his happiness last for ever.

"But we write to say that the complete account and truth concerning the letters you wrote to Antil Butil Padri (Fr. Antonio Botelho) and Malik Yakut—commanding the trust one of the royal court is known to us through the narration of the said persons; and also your uneasiness concerning Sevenpaka (Śivapa Nāyaka) about which you wrote is known to us. Now we have

[7] Ap., Nos. 2 and 3.
[8] Ap., No. 3.

despatched an express order to the above-mentioned Sevenpaka with Mohldar Jamarkab. It is certain that now he will raise the siege of Honavar and besides this he will also relinquish his authority over all those places which he has subjugated, and will make peace with you. If in spite of all this, he does not surrender, the result will not be good for him because there exists an old friendship between our auspicious Nawab and the King of Portugal who wears a golden crown. It is incumbent upon you to send at once Kusal Martin Padri (Fr. Gonçalo Martins) to the exalted Court. If, after the arrival of the said Padri, he shows opposition, it will be clear what punishment shall be inflicted upon him. More hereafter.

"Written on 23 Rabi (I or II) 1064 (A. H.)"[9].

II.

Dom Bras de Castro, on receiving this letter, assembled the Council of State and informed his Counsellors of its contents. They decided to send a present to the Sultan, as a sign of their gratitude for his issuing the two farmāns above, through Fr. Martins when going to Bijapur. Anyhow Fr. Martins was sent there not as an official envoy, but only as the invited guest of the same Sultan. Yet some secret instructions were to be given to him enabling him to speak to the Sultan about some events in an inofficial way.[10]

Accordingly a present which amounted to more than 12 thousand *serafins* was handed to Fr. Martins. Moreover some clothes were destined to the favourites[11].

Besides these things Fr. Martins received two documents from Dom Bras. One was the credential letter declaring him the envoy of the Governor to treat with the Sultan about the business and settlement of the Jesuit Mission at his Court. The other document contained the secret instructions suggested by the Council of State. I shall give here the full translation of these two pieces.

Credentials (*Alvara de Crenca*), which the Rev. G. Martins takes with him.

Dom Bras de Castro belonging to His Majesty's Council, Governor and Commander-in-Chief of India, etc., I make known to all those who see this *Alvara de Crença* that having high regard for the good parts, virtue and business experience of Rev. F. Gonçalo Martins of the Society of Jesus, we rely on him that when being commissioned with business of His Majesty, he will discharge with all fidelity, veracity and interest the affairs of this state. We must expect this from such a person both by the calling which he follows and by the love and willingness with which he is disposed to pass over to the Court of the King Idalxá (Adil Shah) at Visapor (Bijapur). At

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[9] Ap., Nos. F and 6.
[10] Ap., No. 3.
[11] *Ibid.*

his request I sent him to his presence, as I do, with the command of his superiors, to carry on the negotiations of the new mission they have at present in that Kingdom by the consent of the same King or of the person or persons who might have his authority. I will strictly abide by all the promises made by Rev. Fr. Gonçalo Martins, and will value this letter as issued in the name of His Majesty and will not submit it through the chancellery, in spite of the ordination of book the 2nd, titles 39 and 40. Moreover these credentials will not pay $\frac{1}{2}$ *annata*, for being of the service of the same King, Our Lord. Christouão de Menezes wrote this in Goa, on the 15th of April, of the year 1654. The Secretary, Joseph de Chaves Sotomayor, ordered this to be written. Dom Bras de Castro.[12]

Instruction to the Rev. Fr. Goncalo Martins of the Society of Jesus, who is now on his way to the Court of the King (Idalxá) (Adil Shah).

This state finds itself so much indebted for the kind correspondence and friendship of the King Idalxá (Adil Shah), that neglect of gratitude on its part would be taken amiss. Now, I have been asked to send Your Paternity to that Court. You could profit by this opportunity of making a journey to Bijapur both for the success of the mission which has been commenced and to bring about some measures which are well known to Your Paternity and which are beneficial to the state. For this reason I think that the following instructions will make more clear what attitude you should take up in dealing with the affairs connected with this state.

In the first place, since it is customary in negotiating with kings of India to employ presents, you will, at once after reaching Vizapur (Bijapur) with God's help, present to the King in audience, on my behalf and on that of the state, the present sent along with you, and mentioned in the list of the Finance Secretary (*Vehedor de Fazenda*). And you will signify the good will with which it is offered, being intended for nothing more than a demonstration of the filial love with which both myself and th ePortuguese Nation desire to please him, as I myself tell him in a letter.

And as you were ordered by him to his presence, it did not appear befitting to do so without such demonstration, which will serve as some confirmation of the old and great friendship that always subsisted between the kings, his predecessors, and this state, from which he will receive the same signs of love in everything that occurs of his service and increase of his kingdom. And this also is communicated to His Majesty, whom God may guard, from whom alone he must expect thanks, both by letter and other assurances that may be expected from his royal munificence.

The state in which are found the fortresses of Canara, three of which are destroyed, is well known to Your Paternity. Moreover Onor (Honavar) will have been strongly besieged for two years by June, and although it has held

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[12] Ap., No. 1.

out in safety with every proof of valour, nevertheless it will be a signal service to bring this war to an end, both on account of the risks to which Onor is exposed by a winter campaign, as well as on account of the great expenses which are caused with this war. Hence Your Paternity will thank the king Idalxá (Adil Shah) for the farmān he sent and passed on Sivapanaique (Śivapa Nāyaka of Ikeri). Your Paternity will do your best according to time and circumstances in order that the Sultan will of his own accord force the same Sivapanaique to raise the siege of Onor; and if he (the Nāyak) refuses to fulfil the conditions of the farmān he (the Sultan) will have recourse to arms, for which he has sufficient provocation both on account of his disobedience and the help asked from the Messur (the Rāja of Mysore). Your Paternity has also to insist on the retrocession of the forts of Barcelor, Cambolim and Mangalore, using to this end the mildest means and sacrifices the least onerous to the state, because no one knows better than Your Paternity the exhausted state of the royal treasure.

Besides, the success of such negotiations, particularly with Muhammadans and the heathen, always depends on rewards, and thus Your Paternity, well understanding that by this means you will succeed in whatsoever we intend, you will try your best to urge the fulfilment both on my behalf and on that of the state; yet so that you do not settle anything without informing me in order that I may decide more conveniently in consultation with the council; and let me always know clearly your views by letters. But I note in particular, that our special point in the whole affair is the yielding of the forts.

Is the King Idalxá (Adil Shah) disposed to be a mediator between the state and Sivapanaique (Śivapa Nāyaka)? There is every likelyhood of his inducement towards that end, unless the presents of Sivapanaique have obtained just the contrary. For this reason I hoped that Your Paternity may be advised that the contract of pepper be as little as possible—and immediately changing the subject of his conversation as much as possible. Now as you know the proceedings that have taken place regarding this particular since you were sent to Onor (Honavar) to settle the business, there is no reason why I should repeat them. Yet if there be no other means to free Onor from the present oppression, Your Paternity will inform me as soon as possible and without delay of your views concerning the state of affairs. And may Your Paternity so conduct thyself in the service of God and of the King our Lord and of the glory of the religion of the Society (of Jesus), as to put an end for the present to this oppression which has wrought such damages. It will be of great importance to win over the King to our side assuring him of the loyalty, truth and good behaviour of the Portuguese. We must retain His Highness in our friendship which has existed of old, and assure him that we are ready to sacrifice our lives in his cause. Furthermore he must be ever willing and ready to expell all nations inimical to the Portuguese, as is the nation of Holland. Thus our united arms may succeed in effecting

much. This I point out to Your Paternity because I am in duty bound to do so, and also because this is to be one of the most important points of the instruction; not because I doubt that Your Paternity could bring this about with less efficacy.

Moreover it is of great importance to issue necessary orders to the *Avaldares* (governors) of Salsete and Bardes to hold with us a good correspondence and to regard us with friendship, to which we will not fail to respond as they have already experienced. By no means must rebels be allowed to cross over to the other side; but they either must be handed over (to us) or they must not be encouraged, since such a treatment will neither subdue nor pacify them; on the other hand it will be easy to pacify them when they realize that they have no assistance of any kind.

Your Paternity has also to bring it about,—without being noticed and without causing scandal—that he (the Sultan) shall send such an *Avaldar* (governor) as is not a partisan either of Xa Saib (Shah Saheb) or of Garibo.(?) As experience has shown us, such a policy has originated discords, because of the ambition of these men, who tyrannize over the poor. This is the course that can be taken by king Idalxá for the better preservation of these lands. Let the Ambassadors, who may be sent to the assistance of this state (of Goa) be persons possessing authority and of good behaviour so that they may carry on the negotiations arising between both states with better advantage and without hindrance.

The persons acceptable to the king Idalxá and according to his belief loyal to him are Fatecan (Fath Khan), Xagi (Shahi) and Melique (Atute) (Malik Yakut). To them we send some presents, as you will see from the list. It is supposed they will be favourable (to us) and the more so as Melique Atute is staunch in his friendship with us and is ever desirous to maintain peace and to help our party. Hence Your Paternity must assure him that his allegiance will be remunerated, provided that you are successful in your embassy.

Xa Saibo (Shah Saheb) is the brother-in-law of Mostafacão (Mustafa Khan), who was known to be the enemy of this state, and this his kinsman observes the same attitude towards us. Nevertheless we are forced to negotiate with him and Your Paternity must visit him and present him with the piece of cloth which we are sending him, provided that there is no reason to prevent Your Paternity from doing so. I am writing to this man and whenever necessary I shall do the same in the case of Colascão (Kuli Khan) with your notice. This communication is not held at present because he is in camp.

In accordance with the last intimation received from Visapor (Bijapur) you must try to persuade the king Idalxá (Adil Shah) to order the Bishop Dom Matheus to leave his realm. The news coming from the vicinity is ripe among the people of Bardez, that he is intending to make new demands in the court of Idalxá (Adil Shah), or has already made them through Xa

Saibo. Hence it will be of great importance to put an end to his officiousness and to transfer him to the Grand Cairo Mission to which he belongs; for it is to that Mission that His Holiness (the Pope) originally intended to send him. It is for Your Paternity to effect this, and to see to it that no harm comes to him, inasmuch as he is a Bishop and does not use his dignity as he ought.

As the distance from here to Visapor is . . . . I enjoin this advice on Your Paternity with the object of setting all the details contained in this document as well as possible. Your Paternity will again employ prudence, skill and talent with which all are familiar who have come in contact with Your Paternity. Finally I beg to bring it to the notice of Your Paternity that should your authority in carrying on these negotiations be called in question, you are empowered to produce the credentials to silence all doubt. On all occasions whenever required I trust that this may redound to the greater service of God and our King and to the increase of this state.

Written in Goa by Antonio Ribeiro on the 16th of April, 1654, by order of the Secretary Joseph de Chaves Sotomayor.—Dom Bras de Castro.[13]

III.

One of the instructions given to Fr. Martins by Dom Bras de Castro was to prevent any war between the two states of Bijapur and Portuguese India in the border provinces of Bardes or Salsette. In fact war broke out there even before Martins' reaching the Court of Bijapur. Dom Bras himself in his letter of February 7th, 1655, informs the King of Portugal that shortly after the departure of Fr. Martins from Goa, in the month of April, warlike preparations were to be noticed on the Bijapur side, and in the month of August hostilities were supposed to be opened when the Bijapur Sultan sent his troops against Bardes. The first district invaded seems to have been Bicholim, and then Ponda and finally the whole of the Conkão (Konkan) was under arms.

When the first news of the preparations of Bijapur reached the ears of Dom Bras de Castro, he himself made the necessary preparations to defend the Portuguese possessions. It was a hard job, indeed. There were then very few soldiers at Goa, as they had been sent to winter at Bacaim (Bassin) and Cananor (Malabar). Some had been sent, too, to reinforce the garrison of Onor. Moreover by the beginning of May two galliots coming to Goa were lost, which meant the loss of many a soldier. In spite of all this, Dom Bras despatched reinforcements to both Bardes and Salsette; he sent there several battalions. Unfortunately Bardes stood the first raids of the Mussulmans.

Dom Bras himself informs his Sovereign that many a native of Bardes had instantly invited the Bijapur Government to take possession of their

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[13] Ap., No. 2.

country. So the first town to be attacked by the Bijapurians was Tivy (Tevim), the nearest of the Bijapur Territory. There was then a battalion under one Nicolão de Moura, recently come from Goa. They were suddenly assailed one early morning by a squadron of 4,000 soldiers, among whom there were some horse. The commander of this force was Abdul Hakim and the Captain of the Horse was Mulla Khan[14]. The Mussulman army was very much more numerous, but the Portuguese resisted till a breach was made in the wall. The enemy rushed through it, and even then they retreated to a Church, where Nicolão de Moura and his soldiers resisted two days more. Finally, since they had nothing to eat and ammunitions were lacking they surrendered on condition that they would be allowed to retire with their arms to Goa, which was graciously granted by the victors.

This victory opened the gate of Bardes to the Muslim hordes, who quickly spread over the country finding no resistance. All the natives joyfully received them.[15]

Dom Bras de Castro received full information of all these happenings on August the 12th[16] and without delay sent Antonio de Souza Coutinho at the head of 3 hundred and seventy men—many of whom were *fidalgos* of the Island of Goa—with the necessary ammunition. Their purpose was to expel the Mussulmans from the Portuguese possessions, and they succeeded, indeed. For on the 14th of the same month the Portuguese reached the enemy's sight, and such was the terror which without reason overtook the Mussulmans, that without making the slightest resistance hurried to cross the frontier. During this sudden flight for more than two leagues they were pursued by the Portuguese and suffered several losses. Dom Bras de Castro ordered a fortress to be built on that place which was fortified with several pieces of ordnance, and Antonio de Souza was left there as its Commander.

After this the Bijapur army turned to Salsette. Dom Manuel de Mascarenhas was then the Commander-in-Chief. As soon as he had been appointed to this post he started to fortify Rachol, a fort in the North of the Island facing the Mussulman possessions on the other side of the river. But the Bijapur army went Southwards and entered Salsette in the neighbourhood of Cuculy (Conculim)[17]. By this time, which was according to Danvers the beginning of October, though Dom Bras in his letters does not specify the

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[14] Ap., No. 11.

[15] This event is one of the few narrated by Danvers. His account nevertheless is quite different in many details. Here it is: " In this year . . . Adil Khan marched against Bardes and Goa with an army of 5,000 men, arriving in Portuguese territory on the 12th of August, on which day there was an eclipse of the sun. In the Residency of Tevy (probably Tevim, in Bardes) he found a few Portuguese without either food or arms, who retired into the Church at his approach, but afterwards surrendered at discretion. In the small fortress at that place there were twenty-five soldiers, who defended themselves with great valour " (*The Portuguese in India*, II, p. 308). I prefer the authority of Dom Bras de Castro to the one of Danvers, who does not give any reference to a comtemporary source. The same account is found in his *Report to the Secretary of State for India in Council*, p. 61-63 (London, 1892).

[16] Note that Danvers says the first invasion to have occurred on this day.

[17] Cutuly says Danvers.

date, the annual ships from home arrived at Goa. The Governor at once raised 500 soldiers besides some cavalry out of the newly arrived contingents and sent them to Salsette. Dom Manuel de Mascarenhas both with these reinforcements and with the good help of the natives of Salsette—who proved more loyal than those of Bardes—proceeded against the invaders who, on hearing of his approach, suddenly withdrew and re-entered their own kingdom.[18]

IV.

In the meanwhile Fr. Goncalo Martins had arrived at the Court of Bijápur, and by the favour he enjoyed in the royal palace he easily induced the Sultan to stop that war. By the same time, *viz.*, after the withdrawal of the Bijapur troops from Salsette, Dom Bras de Castro himself wrote to the Sultan to the same effect. A copy of his letter was sent by the same Dom Bras to the Portuguese Sovereign, but I failed to find it in the Pangim Archives.

The result of all this was that the Sultan ordered the definitive retreat of his troops from the Portuguese territory.[19] This was communicated to the Governor in the Sultan's reply to Dom Bras' letter which is found in the said Archives next to its Portuguese translation made by the same Crisnaasinay (Krishna Sinay). The following English translation is made straight from the Persian original:

"To Dun Bras da Caster Waizai, of high rank, the Shelter of Chiefs and Nobles, brave and courageous, conscious of high rank and position, of noble lineage and exalted station, the crocodile of the seas and the lion of the Decan—Island of Goa.

"May his good fortune last for ever.

"But I write to say that your letter reached me at the most opportune moment; its perusal gives me great pleasure and delight. And whatever you have written concerning Kusal Padri Martin (Padre Goncalo Martin) Sampal (of St. Paul's) and Antun Butil Padri (Padre Antonio Botelho), clearly displays your single heartedness and sincerity. The truth concerning each one of them is clear to us; and we very well know the old sincerity of your nature. Be assured that a friendship of long standing exists between us and the King of Portugal, who wears a golden crown. In these days it occurs to our mind that the old friendship and love which existed between us should be allowed to continue. Our express message is sent to Abdul Hakim, through Musa Khan, who is one of our courtiers. It is expected that he will not delay a single moment. Before this time Abdul Hakim had come to us and

[18] Ap., No. 3.
[19] Ap., Nos. 3 and 12.

having spoken something mixed with selfishness had proceeded in that direction. And as we did not find in him any good-will towards us, we have ordered him and Musa Khan to come to us with all possible haste. He spoke something to us here, and having gone there acted contrary to his words.

"The state of affairs here is known to Padri Martin (Martins), from whose narration you will glean some idea of the existing conditions here and after this will be written, we shall send as a mark of our respect for him, Kushal Martin (Goncalo Martins) with a trustworthy person of the Court, so that he may convey to you the relations of love and friendship existing between us, and also that he may inform you of the state of affairs here.

"It is hoped that you will not delay in replying to this letter."[20]

V.

Dom Bras de Castro, on receiving this apologizing letter of the Sultan, ordered Dom Manuel de Mascascuhas not to enter the boundaries of Bijapur in the pursuit of the Mussulman troops. This suspension of hostilities lasted till the end of November, when the embassy announced by the Sultan in his latest letter entered the Portuguese territory.

This embassy consisted, besides Fr. Gonzalo Martins, of the same Malik Yakut. Since their arrival at Goa, on December 3, 1654, trade was resumed between Bijapur and Goa as the accompanying letter of the Sultan to the Viceroy openly declared that he wanted no war with the Portuguese. This letter translated from the Persian is to the following effect:

"To Dom Bras Wacaster Colonel Waizri of high rank the shelter of chiefship and sovereignty, the possessor of greatness and nobility, the crocodile of the seas, the lion of the ocean—Island of Goa.

We write to say that we have received your letter which was written with all sincerity and single-heartedness, and have we well considered its contents. Whatever you have written as regards the sending of Kusal Martins Padri (Fr. Goncalo Martins) in obedience to my orders has been a source of pleasure to my spiritual world-seeing heart. He is accompanied by Malik Yakut—who is of high rank and exalted station and is the trusted chief agent of the King. Now we have well considered the long standing friendship of the King of Portugal, who wears a golden crown. We have sent Kusal Padri (Fr. Gonçalo) accompanied by Malik Yakut who is trustworthy, with precious gifts. To you the said Padri and Malik will describe the goodwill and cheerfulness of our auspicious Nawab. This description you should consider as proceeding from the miraculous tongue of the Nawab himself, and pay proper attention and make due endevours in this matter. Moreover such a policy is expected of you as will not destroy the long standing friendship of the gold crowned King, in consequence of the misunderstanding of some stupid

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[20] Ap., Nos. 4 and 5.

persons. It is my sincere desire that the friendship should increase and be consolidated day by day, because the safety of the Government of the gold crowned King lies in this. And a costly robe of honour is sent to you with the above-mentioned Malik as a mark of royal favour and with a view to strengthen your sincerity and good faith. It is your duty to come forward with due respect and civility. More will be known on personal interview.

Written on (date missing) in the month of Zipajja (A. H.)."

The purpose of the Sultan in sending this new Embassy to Goa was to make a treaty of peace between both states. So, soon after their arrival meetings were often held to prepare this treaty. But before the final settlement of the conditions of peace Dom Bras again received the following letter from the Sultan. Its Persian original has been apparently lost. I could find only the Portuguse translation of Crisnaasinay (Krishna Sinay) from which this English one was made:

"Translation of the letter written to Y. L. by the Sultan Mamede Idalxá (Muhammad Adil Shah), in which he speaks as follows:—

"To the ruler of high rank, power and government; spirit, health and good fortune; the one who, as the sustainer of peace and friendship of liberal nature, is chosen in the law of the Messias; the lion of the sea, Dom Bras de Castro, Viceroy of the state of Goa. Let him have always good luck and success. To whom I am sending this, with my love, by which I make him acquainted with the following:—

"Malique Acute (Malik Yakut) my great confident and deserver of my royal gifts, wrote a humble letter in which he informed me that my farmān sent through him was received by Y. L. with a profound bow, as required by the friendship existing between me and the gold-crowned King of Portugal. He also assured me that Y. L. keeps loyal in my service. Moreover he wrote to me that he would speak (to Y. L.) concerning my affairs, according to my command.

"I was pleased with this letter of the said Malique (Malik). The conduct of Y. L. towards me has been as it ought to be. Y. L. followed the right way in order to perpetuate the old friendship that exists between me and the gold-crowned King of Portugal. Hence Y. L. will soon despatch all the business the said Malique Acutte (Malik Yakut) has gone to negotiate with Y. L., for they are matters concerning my service. May your happiness shine in your face; and may your head rise higher because of your fame and good reputation. Moreover may the inhabitants of Goa enjoy peace, and may the love and friendly relations between myself and the King of Portugal increase every day.

"I am sending Y. L. two baskets (*caur'is*) of rumaas which were borne in good time, as a testimony of my thankfulness and as one of my royal presents. Those Y. L. will please to accept as a token of my love.

"Of any other things Fr. Goncallo Martins will personally inform you. He is a religious, extremely truthful; there is no other like him.

"This letter was written on the 26th of the month Safar of A. H. 1065; this date corresponds to the last day of December of 1654.

"And myself Crisnasinay (Krishna Sinay), state interpreter, translated it from the original, to which I refer myself. At Goa, 5th of January 1655."

CRISHNAA SINAY (KRISHNA SINAY).[21]

Finally, every thing being ready and the conditions of peace being agreed upon, on March 7th, 1655, the treaty was signed by the Ambassadors, the Governor and other illustrious persons. I am going to give a summary of this treaty here.

The ceremony took place in the Governor's Palace at Goa. There were present Malique Acutte (Malik Yakut) and Father Gonçalo Martins, as the Sultan's Ambassadors on the one side, and on the other Dom Pedro Henrriquez, Captain of Goa, and several other gentlemen and priests, the most prominent of the City, together with two interpreters, the said Krishna Sinay and Rama Sinay Cottary. After taking the usual oath, according to each one's creed, Dom Bras de Castro told the Mussulman Ambassador Malik Yakut that he was made aware how the Sultan Mamede Idalxá (Muhammad Adil Shah) wrongly induced by disloyal courtiers had declared war against the Portuguese; but finally realizing how unjust was such a war the Sultan had stopped the hostilities, called back his army to Bijapur and sent his Ambassadors to Goa in order to renew the old friendship with Portugal by a new treaty of peace between both countries. Then the letter they brought from the Sultan was read before the Assembly. After all this, Dom Bras added that the Council of State decided upon ratifying the former treaties of peace with Bijapur, *viz.*, the one of April 3rd, 1633, Dom Miguel de Noronha, Conde de Linhares being the Viceroy and Mamedezaman (Muhammad Zaman) the Ambassador of Bijapur; and that of 1576, during the Governorship of Antonio Monis Barreto, Zaerbeque (Shah Baker) being the Ambassador, and that of January 29th, 1582, during the viceroyalty of Dom Francisco Mascarenhas, Conde de Viladorta, being the Ambassadors Abdul Melique (Abdul Malik) and Cojefatardirra (Khoja Fate Dara). The text of all these treaties is found in the same book as the treaty I am now summarising.

Then Malik Yakut and Fr. Gonçalo Martins declared that they were ready to ratify the old peace made between Bijapur and Portugal. Fr. Martins furthermore declared that he was a Religious of the Society of Jesus, a subject of the King of Portugal, but being now by the great favour of Muhammad Adil Shah nominated his Ambassador he would ratify and sign

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[21] Ap., No. 10.

the peace on behalf of the Sultan as well as Malik Yakut himself. Then the text of the ancient treaties was read and ratified by the two ambassadors and Fr. Martins took his oath placing his hand on a missal. Then Dom Bras de Castro himself promised likewise to keep the same terms of peace on behalf of the King of Portugal, and he also took the oath on the Gospels in a Missal.

Finally, all these transactions having been written in the usual book, the document was signed by the Governor, the Ambassadors and 25 witnesses[22].

VI.

After the settlement of this peace the ambassadors returned to Bijapur, and soon after their arrival Muhammad Adil Shah ratified the peace in the month of May, 1655. When news of this reached Goa, Dom Bras de Castro sent another present to the Sultan. This present was a beautiful ring enriched with a precious stone[23].

Not long after, Dom Rodrigo Lobo da Silveira, Conde de Sarzedas, landed at Goa, as Viceroy of Portuguese India. He imprisoned and sent to Portugal the usurper Dom Braz de Castro. Sarcedas, in a letter to his Sovereign of December 15, 1655, referring to the relations with Bijapur, says as follows:—

" I found this business in such a state that the Dialxa (the Bijapur Sultan) seemed to wish to receive tribute from us and I feel sure this would have happened if my coming had been postponed "[24]. This appreciation sounds a little exaggerated. It was perhaps influenced by hatred towards poor Dom Braz.

The fact is that Sarzedas received about the same time a letter of Melique Acute (Malik Yakut). This courtier demanded license to cross the river as the Ambassador of the Sultan of Bijapur in order to have a talk with His Excellency. In the Pangim Archives there is the very original of this letter, in very bad Portuguese; it is written on Daulatabadi paper slightly sprinkled with gold.

The Viceroy granted his permission to the Ambassador, and on September 5th, Malik Yakut reached Goa carrying a letter from the Sultan still addressed to Dom Braz. But after a while a new letter came from Bijapur in which the new Viceroy was congratulated on his accession to power[25]. Translations of both letters were sent to the Portuguese Monarch, though only the first one is found in the Archives at present. Its English translation from the Persian original runs as follows:

" To Dun Bras Wacaster Waizai of exalted rank, the shelter of nobles, brave and courageous, conscious of rank and courage, the great, the noble, the brave, the crocodile of the seas and the lion of the ocean—Island of Goa.

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[22] Ap., No. 11.
[23] Ap., No. 12.
[24] *Ibid.*
[25] Ap., No. 12.

"May his good fortune last for ever.

"And we write to say that after having conferred the office of Commander-in-Chief of the newly captured places (Cities or Forts) in the District of Talkokan (Konkan) on Rustam Zaman, the great and exalted one, the trusted one of the exalted court having the dignity of the court of Solomon, the Sharer of the royal favours, the lion of the forest of battle, the crocodile of the ocean of war, of high rank, of good fortune—and having entrusted the responsibility of guarding and protecting to Malik Yakut—the confidant of the tent of secrets, the great and exalted trusted one of the exalted Court—we have sent them towards you to punish some refractory and ingrate tribes of Zisans and Naikwars of the Pragana of Ankuta (Ancola) and the forts of Manja and Tappa (or Patta?) and Karwar; so that the affairs of that side have received their proper attention. As there exists between the King of Portugal and ourselves an old friendship and love, it is your duty to send all necessary arms and munitions against those forts and Praganas and subjugate all the three forts; and with the help of the noble Khan and the above-mentioned Malik those tribes should be punished and the source of all mischief and rebellion be utterly removed. You have to obey the commands of the said Malik as if they were issued by us. You have not written anything in your letter concerning the robe of honour we had sent 27 Swwal 1065 (A. H.)[26].

We do not know anything else referring to this war proposed to the Portuguese authorities by Muhammad Adil Shah, and we are sure that no help was ever given by Sarzedas to the Musulmans to reduce the mentioned forts. No doubt the suspicious Viceroy saw in this proposal of alliance a sign of the Sultan's wishes of making the Portuguese tributary to Bijapur. In fact the Sultan ordered the Governor to obey Malik Yakut as if the orders were issued by himself.

In the meanwhile Malik Yakut was still at Goa. Sarzedas says in his letter that he was a very inconstant character. Malik again insisted on getting the famous stone spoken of by Dom Braz de Castro. The Viceroy replied that such a stone had never been in Goa and purposely added that there were certainly many stores filled up with ammunition. Finally he requested the Ambassador to finish his business as soon as possible. Malik understood thoroughly the Viceroy's intentions and after some days asked Sarzedas for his leave to depart, since he had been appointed Havaldar of Ponda. Accordingly he went there but such were the blunders he committed in the few months he remained there, that the Sultan removed him from this post and he fell for good from the royal favour.

The Viceroy gives all this information to the Portuguese King in his letter of December 15th, 1655, and he adds before ending it. "Nothing new as regards this business has happened hitherto, because the Dialxa (Adil

[26] Ap., Nos. 13 and 14.

Shah) is now busy with the Mogor (the Mughal Emperor); yet I have garrisoned both Bardez and Salcete.[27] "

As a matter of fact no other dealings are recorded, and I feel sure no other dealings took place between Bijapur and Goa. At this time Aurangzeb was busy in the conquest of Golkonda, while the friendly relations between Shah Jahan and Muhammad Adil Shah met a sudden end with the assumption of Imperial prerogatives by the latter. The Mughal Emperor wrote him a sharp letter inviting him to return to the conduct of his predecessors, unless he would prefer to be forcibly obliged to do so. The Bijapur Nobles were incensed with anger when they learnt of the contents of his letter, and influenced the Sultan to send a provoking reply to the Emperor.[28] One year later, on November 4th, 1656, Muhammad Adil Shah died, and on the 26th of the same month Shah Jahan sanctioned the invasion of Bijapur and gave Aurangzeb full powers to " settle the affair of Bijapur in any way he thought fit.[29] "

From this time to the day of the final conquest of Bijapur, the Government of this Kingdom was busy enough with both Mughals and Marathas, and had therefore no opportunity to molest any more the Portuguese Authorities of Goa.

APPENDIX.

Manuscript Documents of the Archives of the Portuguese Government at Pangim (Arquivo da Secretaria Geral de Governo) upon which this paper is based.(*)

No. 1.—Aluará de creenea q. (leua e) Pe. G (onça) lo Martins.

(*Instruções, No. 14, 1647, fol. 85 B.*)

No. 2.—Instrucção para o Bdo Pe. Gonçalo Martins da Companhia de Jesvs que ora passa a corte del Rey Idalxá.

(*Ibid., fols. 84 B.-85.*)

No. 3.—(Without title) A letter of the Portuguese Governor Dom Bras de Castro to the King, dated Goa, February 7th, 1655.

(*Monções do Reino, No, 24, Ano de 1654, fols. 189 and 198.*)

No. 4.—Treslado da carta que escreve a V. S. El Rey Sultão mamede Idalxa.

(*Ibid., fol. 190.*)

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[27] Ap., No. 12.

[28] *Cf.* Sarkar, History of Aurangzeb, I., p. 256.

[29] *Cf. Ibid*, p. 262.

(*) Copies of these documents may be found in the library of *The St. Xavier's College Indian Historical Research Institute, Manuscript Section*, Bombay.

No. 5.—(Without title) Persian original of the preceding translation.
(*Ibid., fol. 191.*)

No. 6.—Treslado da carta que escreve a V. S. el Rey Sultãe mamede Idalxaa.
(*Ibid., fol. 192.*)

No. 7.—(Without title) Persian original of the preceding translation.
(*Ibid., fol. 193.*)

No. 8.—Treslado da Carta que escreue a V. S. el Rey Sultão mamede Idalxaa.
(*Ibid., fol. 194.*)

No. 9.—(Without title) Persian original of the preceding translation.
(*Ibid., fol. 195.*)

No. 10.—Treslado da carta que escreue a V. S. Sultão mamede Idalxaa.
(*Ibid., fol. 196.*)

No. 11.—Assento retificação e Juramento de pazes feitas com o sòr Rey Sultão Mamede Idalxá por seu enuiado Melique Acute de sua prezença, e o Padre Goncalo miz da Companhia de Jesvs, Governando este estado o (s)[or] Dom Bras de castro, do conselho de sua mag[de].
(*Pazes e Tratados, No. 1, Ano de 1571, fols. 44—46.*)

No. 12.—(Without title) A letter of the Viceroy Conde de Sarzedas to the King, dated Goa, December 15th, 1655.
(*Moncoes do Reino No. 25, Ano de 1655, fol. 241.*)
(*Ibid., fol. 242.*)

No. 13.—Treslado da carta que Escreue a V Ex.[a] El Rey Idalxa.
(*Ibid., fol. 242.*)

No. 14.—(Without title) Persian original of the preceding translation.
(*Ibid., fol. 243.*)

No. 15.—(Without title) A letter of Malik Yakut to the Portuguese Viceroy.
(*Ibid., fol. 244.*)

The Promotion of Dravidian Linguistic Studies in the Company's Days.

(By Prof. C. S. Srinivasachari, M.A.)

A.—Early Missionary Effort.

The pioneers of the study of the South Indian vernaculars, and particularly of Tamil, were the European missionaries. It is said that immediately after the celebrated St. Francis Xavier commenced his labours among the Paravas

on the Tinnevelly coast towards the end of 1542, he arranged to have the *Creed*, the *Ave Maria*, *the Lord's Prayer* and the *Decalogue* rendered into Tamil and himself committed the translations to memory.[1] Robert de Nobili and Constantius Beschi (1680-1747) inspired by their admirable labours the enthusiasm of all lovers of Tamil. Nobili was a nephew of Cardinal Bellarmine and came out in 1606 to serve the famous Madura Mission and died near Mylapore, some half a century later, combining in his own person the sanctity of the *sanyási* and the erudition of the *pandit*. Beschi spent the years 1710-1747 in the Southern Tamil districts where he acquired a marvellous knowledge of Tamil, especially of its classical dialect, " as no other European seems to have ever acquired over that or any other Indian language."[2]

The labours of these two great pioneers of European scholarship in Indian languages are fully portrayed in the Annual Letters of the priests of the Madura Mission preserved in the Archives of the Society of Jesus and, in some cases, in the public libraries of Europe. These Letters were written annually, sometimes every three years, from every province or mission of the Society to its General in Rome, giving an account of almost every important event that occurred in the Mission. It was from this inexhaustible quarry that Father Bertrand drew materials for his voluminous work—*La Mission du Maduré: 4 vols.*—and also Father Besse for his instructive biography of Beschi.[3] The Letters of the Madura Mission preserved in the Archives of the Society have been secured in photographs in the private library of the St. Joseph's College, Trichinopoly. " The Various compilations published under the name of *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses* were made up from such annual letters.[4]

As a great Tamil scholar and poet, Beschi has always attracted the attention of all Tamils and has served as the model for Protestant missionaries engaged in Tamil studies like Rottler, Caldwell and Pope. Of Beschi's works on the grammar of the Tamil languages and of his dictionaries, one writer admiringly points out that they " have proved invaluable aids to his successors and to Protestant missionaries and indeed to all students of Tamil after him." A list of his numerous works in prose and verse, both in Tamil and in Latin was published in *The Madras Journal of Literature and Science* for 1840. There was indeed a previous manuscript Life of Beschi in Tamil written about 1790 which probably served as the basis for the Saint's life which was published in Tamil in 1822 by A. Muttuswami Pillai, Manager of the College of Fort St. George who had some years previously undertaken a tour in the southern districts of the Presidency for the purpose of securing a collection of Beschi's works, at the instance of F. W. Ellis (*died*, 1819) a celebrated

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[1] Bishop Caldwell's *History of Tinnevelly* (Madras, 1881), p. 233.

[2] Caldwell—*Introduction to the Comparative Study of the Dravidian Languages* (1875).

[3] *Father Beschi of the Society of Jesus; His Times and Writings.* (Trichinopoly, 1918).

[4] *Ibid*, pp. 3-4.

Scholar—Civilian who wrote numerous papers on the Tamil, Telugu and Malayalam languages. The *Memoir* was enriched with a catalogue of Beschi's works and with extracts taken from some of them. In 1840 the author gave, at the request of Sir Walter Elliot, (then Member of the Board of Revenue) an English version of the biography. There is a translation into French of the Tamil notice of Muttuswami Pillai made by Father Louis du Ranquet, S. J., in a letter dated, the Fishery Coast, 1st March, 1841.[1] A manuscript French notice of Beschi by a contemporary Capuchin missionary who wrote in 1731 is said to have been found in the library of the Church of Surat and is now in the *Calendrier des Missionaries Jésuites dans l' Inde* (Bibl. Nationalé. Fords Français; No. 9777, Paris).[2]

According to Sir George Grierson,[3] the first Tamil books were printed in 1577-79; and the first printed Tamil Dictionary was brought out at Cochin in 1679 by Father A. de Proenza. A new Tamil grammar by Baltasar da Costa appeared in 1680; while the grammar of Ziegenbalg, the Danish missionary of Tranquebar, was printed in 1716. These are, however, very rare or not available at all. While Beschi's much better-known *Grammar on the Common Dialect of the Tamil Language* was written in 1728 for the use of his *confrerés* in the Madura Mission and published in the Tranquebar Press in 1737. This work was translated into English first by C. H. Horst in 1806 and more authoritatively by G. W. Mahon at the S. P. C. K. Press, Madras, in 1848—the latter being considered the most accurate English translation of the work. Father Besse says that Anquetil du Perron, the pioneer French Orientalist, had presented an abridged French translation of the same grammar to the Bibliothéque Nationalé (Ms. No. 219).[4]

Beschi's Grammar of High Tamil, whose preface is dated September 1730, was in Latin and remained unedited for nearly two centuries, until the Latin text was published recently at Trichinopoly along with the English translation of B. G. Babington.[5] Babington's Translation was originally printed at the Madras College Press in 1812; and the learned Dr. G. U. Pope calls it "an exceedingdy correct and scholar-like edition of a most masterly work."[6]

Connected with this *Grammar of High Tamil* (Literary Dialect) are two other works by Beschi on the Tamil language; (*a*) The *Tonnúl Vilakkam*, all in Tamil; and (*b*) The *Clavis* (*humaniorum litterarum sublimioris Tamulici idiomatis*). Both these works are divided into five parts, embracing prosody, rhetoric, composition, orthography and etymology. The first work has been published several times; and a prose version of it is included in the Rev. W. Taylor's *Catalogue Raisonnée of Oriental Manuscripts with the Government*

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[1] Besse's *Life of Beschi*, p. 6.
[2] *Ibid*, p. 9.
[3] *Linguistic Survey of India, Vol. IV, Munda and Dravidian*, p. 302.
[4] Besse, p. 214.
[5] *A Grammar of High Tamil*—Latin Text with the English Translation of B. G. Babington—Trichinopoly (1917).
[6] *Tamil Hand Book* (Madras, 1867), p. 67.

of Madras,[1] while the work itself is examined as *Manuscript* No. 2179[2] Mr. Taylor says that the manuscript prose version has the appearance of having been a class-book, when the Madras College had a native school attached to it. The noted French scholar M. Julius Vinson, ranks the *Clavis* among the doubtful works of Beschi, though the learned Mr. A. C. Burnell, author of *Elements of South Indian Palæography,* (1874) had no doubt about Beschi having written it; and the latter had it printed at Tranquebar in 1876 from a manuscript which he considered to have been revised by the author in person.

More important than these works on grammar, are Beschi's dictionaries. Of these the first was the *Sadur Aharádi* (*Quadruple Dictionary*) consisting of five parts which was composed in the years 1732-47 and disclosed "in its author a vast erudition and an astonishing knowledge of the Tamil language and its classics" according to Bertrand. It was published by the Madras College under the supervision of two Tamil Pandits who revised the manuscript and added a supplement. It has been reprinted several times in Madras and in Pondicherry, the last edition at Pondicherry of 1872 being done by Father Dupuis, an authoritative and accurate scholar. The next lexicon of Beschi was the *Tamil-Latin Dictionarium* with a long Latin preface, wherein the author compares himself to "St. Paul, the custodian of the garments of those who stoned St. Stephen." He then praises Father Bourzes, the author of a Tamil-Latin Dictionary which had been useful to him in the compilation of this work. There was a French translation of this work of which Anquetil du Perron wanted a copy made for him by the Superior of the Mission at Mahe. According to his original plan Beschi was to have supplemented this work by a Portuguese-Latin-Tamil Dictionary as a second part. Portuguese was then the language commonly understood by all Europeans in South India; and the Mission House of Trichinopoly possesses a copy[3] of the second part in which Beschi gives the meaning of 4353 Portuguese words.

With the help of this work, other missionaries prepared French-Tamil Dictionaries which are usually attributed to Beschi. The Rev. E. Hoole, in his preface to one of Beschi's Tamil works—*Rules for Catechists*—which he published in 1844 mentions a Dictionary of Tamil and English among the works of Beschi; while Muttuswami Pillai attributes to him a Latin-Tamil Dictionary also which is not known to exist now.

It has also been suggested by Father Besse that Beschi composed a Telugu Grammar mainly on the ground that Telugu was the language spoken at the court of the Náyaks of Madura with which Beschi must have been familiar and that a century before him de Nobili had composed works in Telugu without ever having left the Tamil country. M. Vinson, is not inclined to accept the tradition, and possibly the Telugu Grammar was the work of one of the fathers of the Carnatic Mission whose field of action was largely in the Telugu

[1] Manuscript No. 2172, p. 784, Vol. III (Madras, 1862).
[2] Manuscript No. 2179, p. 2 of Vol. III (Madras, 1862).
[3] Besse, p. 281.

country. Among the manuscripts which Muttuswami Pillai collected as being the works of Beschi are found other works, theological and secular, too numerous to mention here. The *Témbávani* a long and highly wrought religious epic on St. Joseph in 36 cantos, in the style of the ancient classic of the *Chintáma* is the most important of these. It entitles him to be placed in the very first rank of Tamil poets; and "the Tamils could not believe that it was the work of a foreigner."[1] Beschi's *Commentary in Latin and Tamil on the Sacred Kural* of Tiruvalluvar has been made use of by later editors and translators of the great book, like Ellis[2] and G. U. Pope.[3] Beschi was the last and the most learned of the Jesuit missionaries and shortly after his time the Jesuit Society and the Madura Mission were suppressed; and for long the great accomplishments of Beschi remained forgotten.[4]

While the Madura Mission was thus doing pioneer work in Tamil studies, Protestant missionary effort soon followed suit. The earliest Protestant Mission to South India was the Tranquebar Danish Mission started by Ziegenbalg and Plutscho. These learnt Tamil "without dictionary, grammar or *Munshi*"; and between 1708 and 1711 they contrived to translate the New Testament into Tamil, and followed it up shortly afterwards with the Hebrew Bible as far as the Ruth.[5] By 1725 the Tamil version of the Old Testament begun by Ziegenbalg was completed by his successor, Schulze. This was the Grand Work—the *magnum opus*—of the Tranquebar missionaries and received two appreciative letters of recognition from King George I of England.[6] The first printing press that was established in Madras was in 1711 by the S. P. C. K. which had recently begun its operations at the Presidency Town. It began to take a deep interest in the activities of the Tranquebar Mission which had its own press as well. Schulze subsequently took charge of a mission in Madras where he preached in the Tamil, Telugu and the Portuguese tongues and translated portions of the Bible into Telugu and Hindustani. The Tranquebar missionaries subsequently brought out a grammar in Tamil and German and a history of the Church in Tamil.[7] Beschi's first grammar on the Common Dialect appeared as already told in 1737; while C. H. Walter's *Grammar* appeared two years later. Ziegenbalg's *Dictionarium Tamulicum* was prepared in 1712, but was never printed.[8] A Tamil Grammar by J. Ch. Fabricius and J. Chr. Breithaupt, missionaries of Madras,

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[1] Nelson—*A manual of the Madura Country* (1868), Part III, p. 299.

[2] Ellis—*Kural* (Madras, 1822), 304 pp. (incomplete).

[3] Pope—*The Sacred Kural* (Frowde, 1886).

[4] See the writer's article in *The Educational Review* (Vol. XXIV, Madras) on *The Madura Mission and Tamil Scholarship*; Caldwell's *History of Tinnevelly*, pp. 232-244; and D'Orsay—*Portuguese Discoveries, Dependencies and Missions in Asia and Africa* (1893), pp. 251-261 which gives an account of Robert de Nobili.

[5] J. W. Kaye—*Christianity in India* (1859), p. 73.

[6] Quoted in *Claudius* Buchanan's *Christian Researches in India* (1840).

[7] *The Educational Review* (Oct. 1923)—Article—Progress of Education in Madras in the 18th Century.

[8] G. A. Grierson—*Linguistic Survey of India;* Vol. IV, p. 302.

was issued in a second edition in 1789. In these efforts of the early missionaries, the scriptural system of instruction, the training of school-masters and catechists, the publication of manuals of the grammars of the vernaculars and of translations of the Bible, were the methods employed[1] and they opened not merely western education among the people, but also an era of critical study of the languages. Under the illustrious Christian Frederick Swartz who laboured in the country for nearly half a century from 1750, and his contemporaries and colleagues, Gericke, Kohloff and Kiernander, translations of Scriptures and other works went on increasing, with large aids from the S. P. C. K. When Valentyn, an indefatigable missionary, who was long resident in Malaya and had translated the Scriptures into colloquial Malay, wrote his history, (1727) the Old and New Testaments had been almost completely translated into Singalese as well.

In the Malayalam tongue also, such activities were displayed by missionaries. A Portuguese grammar with a Malayalam vocabulary was published in 1733. Portuguese and Italian missionaries are stated by Grierson[2] to have completed a Malayalam dictionary in 1746, based on materials accumulated in the two previous centuries. The German Jesuit, J. Ernst Hanleden, is stated by Fra Paolino to have written a grammar which does not seem to have been printed. Other grammars on the language were written by Pater Clemens (Rome, 1784) and by Robert Drummond (Bombay, 1799). In 1781 J. Adam Cellarius published some notes on the features of this language. Grierson says that the first Malayalam printed book was probably the *Symbolum Apostolicum* printed in 1713 at an unknown place.

With regard to Kanarese (Kannada), the Spanish Jesuit Hervas gave 63 Kanarese words in his vocabulary. Schulze, the Danish missionary, prepared a Kanarese version of the Lord's Prayer which was printed in Berlin in 1806. The famous Serampore missionaries took up the study of Kanarese in earnest; and a grammar of the language by William Carey appeared in 1817, followed six years later by a translation of the New Testament.[3]

The Telugu (or Gentoo) language, is frequently mentioned in the Madras Records from 1683 to 1719. Nobili was said to have written some books in that tongue; but Schulze was probably the first European who made a thorough study of it. He translated the Bible into Telugu, published a *Catechismus Telugicus Minor* (*Halle*, 1747) *Colloquium Religiosum Telugicæ* (Halle, 1747) and other books. He also gave an account of the Telugu alphabet in his *Conspectus Litteraturæ Telugicæ* (Halle, 1747). Later a Telugu grammar was printed at Madras in 1807, and a Telugu translation of the New Testament was issued from the Serampore Mission Press in 1816 followed by a version of the Pentateuch in 1831. It was in Telugu that the greatest necessity was felt by the Madras Government for encouraging the production of

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[1] Hough—*History of Christianity in India*, Vol. III, p. 104.
[2] *Linguistic Survey*, Vol. IV, p. 350.
[3] George Smith—*Life of William Carey* (1885), pp. 238-39; and Grierson, Vol. IV, p. 368.

books which would serve the double purpose of assisting civilians, missionaries and other Europeans and also of helping the natives in the acquisition of English; and it was the Telugu masters and scholars of the College of Fort St. George that greatly helped in the promotion of Dravidian linguistic studies by the Madras Government from about 1800. The Carnatic Mission which was started for the Telugu country by the Jesuits in 1702 had the services of eminent scholars like John Calmette (1693-1740)[1] who was a good Sanskrit Scholar and very probably the *Satyabódha Swámulaváru* of the *Vedanta-Rasáyanam* and who besides translated into Sanskrit a large *Catechism de la foi* including a book from the Tamil by Beschi.

B.—Encouragement by Government.

It was from the starting of the Board for the College of Fort St. George[2] that Government actively took in hand the bringing out of works in the Dravidian and other Indian languages and in working the College Press. The Board maintained a depôt and library for the sale and loan of oriental works; and later it took charge of the Library[3] of Oriental manuscripts transferred from the Museum of the Madras Literary Society which was started in 1817 by Sir Thomas Newbolt, the then Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, Regular rules[4] for observance by the Board of the College were framed in 1820. The College besides training the civil servants in the vernaculars of the province, supervised the instruction of *munshies* and of persons who were to be appointed as law-officers and pleaders in the provincial courts. The College was advised by Government that "the acquirement of a knowledge of the general grammar and connexion of the several languages of Southern India and of some acquaintance with the sources whence they spring is the chief object"[5] of the first two branches of this course. Sometime later Government asked the College Board which consisted of well-equipped linguistic scholars like F. W. Ellis and A. D. Campbell to report their opinion regarding the merits of the *Carnatica* (Kannada) *Grammar and Vocabulary* submitted by Mr. John McKerrell.[6] Shortly afterwards the Board began to grant certificates of proficiency to native scholars trained by it, including Muttuswami, the biographer of Beschi, and addressed by Government towards the purchase of the copyrights of "several elementary works of first utility in the High and Low Dialects of the Tamil Language—commencing with Beschi's *Grammar of Low Tamil.*" It did not confine its patronage to the products of European scholarship alone. It recommended the purchase of the copyrights of

[1] *History of the Telugu Christians* (Trichinopoly) 1910, p. 308.
[2] Notification dated the 1st May, 1812—*vide* Public Consultations—1st and 5th May, 1812.
[3] *Manual of the Administration of the Madras Presidency,* (1885, Madras), p. 543.
[4] *Rules for the College of Fort St. George,* published by Government in 1820.
[5] *Pp. 2471-72 Manuscript* Public Consultations; 1st and 5th May 1812. (Madras Record Office).
[6] Public Consultation 14th July, 1812.

A Brief Exposition of the Tamil by Chidambara Pandáram, the Head Tamil Master of the College, and of a Telugu Dictionary entitled the *Andhra Dipica* compiled by one, Mamudi Vencayya of Masulipatam, declaring that the latter work would greatly assist in the formation of an ample Telugu and English Dictionary and proposing the sum of 1,000 star-pagodas for the purchase of the copyright.[1] The Board desired also to acquire the right over a Sanskrit dictionary prepared by the same author. Consequent on its recommendation the manuscript of A. D. Campbell's "*A Grammar of the Teloogoo Language commonly termed the Gentoo*" was acquired on public account,[2] and the work was printed at the College Press, being dedicated to the Governor General, the Earl of Moira, K. G. Works on law were also recommended for aid or purchase; for instance, the translation of the *Vignánésvaríyam* by the Head Tamil Master of the College who was also employed then into rendering into Tamil the *Vyavahára-kándam* corresponding with the 8th and 9th books of Sir William Jones' *Translation of the Institutes of Manu.*[3] It was ultimately recommended that the copyright was to be purchased for 1,000 pagodas which the author agreed to expend in the erection of a public choultry.[4]

In 1815 efforts were made to produce works in Malayalam, and in a Government Consultation dated 26th April, 1815, recording a letter from the College Board, we read that Mr. Whish had made considerable progress in the preparation of a grammar for the Malayalam tongue and that he had also commenced a dictionary in that language and now requested the sanction of the College Board to continue his design of making a copious grammar and converting the two vocabularies (which were recently purchased by Government from Mr. Murdock) into the form of good serviceable dictionaries. In the course of the same year the College Board was asked by Government to report on the Tamil Translation of the English Liturgy[5] prepared by the Rev. Mr. Rottler, promising him adequate financial assistance if the report should be favourable. Likewise the Board was required to report on B. G. Babington's Tamil Translation of Beschi's *Grammar of then Tamil* (Higher Dialect).[6] The Board declared that Rottler's work was of limited utility, the translation being too stiff and in some places not conveying the plain meaning. It declared itself quite satisfied with the Telugu Grammar prepared by Mr. A. D. Campbell and requested Government to bring it to the favourable notice of the Court of Directors, soliciting financial assistance.[7] The book was pub-

[1] Fort St. George. Public Consultation dated 28th September, 1813.

[2] Extract from a letter from the Court of Directors dated 2nd April, 1813—para. 31, Fort St. George Consultation 7th December 1813 gives the approval of the Governor-in-Council to acquire the copyright—The 1st edition of the book is dated 1816.

[3] Public Consultations, 21st June, 1814—pp. 3446-47 of Vol. VIII of the year's proceedings in the Madras record Office.

[4] Public Consultation 11th September 1815 (Madras Record Office).

[5] Public Consultation of 20th January.

[6] Public Consultation—10th March, 1815; p. 672 of Records in the Record Office.

[7] Public Consultation—22nd December pp. 3358 and 3536 of volumes in the Record Office.

lished in 1816 and saw its third edition as late as 1849.[1] In the preparation of the Grammar, Mr. Campbell was assisted by the noted scholar F. W. Ellis and also by the learned Telugu Pandit, Udayagiri Venkatanárayana Iyáh, who was Head English Master at the College and later rose to be Interpreter to the Supreme Court, and also by Pattabhirama Sastri, Head Sanskrit and Telugu Master at the College. The latter gentleman compiled a Telugu *Dhátumála* (List of Roots). It was Campbell that first pointed out the radical and intimate connection that exists between Telugu and the other South Indian vernaculars.

Correspondence was long carried on between Government and the Board on the questions of McKerrell's *Karnataka Grammar* and *Telugu Dictionary* and of Whish's *Malayalam Grammar and Dictionary*.[2] In 1816 Mr. Campbell made a further proposal to compile a Telugu Dictionary which was ordered to be referred to the Court of Directors.[3] Shortly afterwards Government asked from the Court of Directors for payment of charges for the collection of books and manuscripts purchased by the College Board from Colonel Colin Mackenzie and a native assistant of his.[4] One, Mr. J. Dalziell, supplied to the Board the specimen of a Telugu Dictionary that he proposed to complete and this offer as well as another made by the same to compile a Telugu and English Dictionary were both examined by the College. The Telugu Grammar published by Mr. W. Brown, was not favourably reported on at first and consequently Government refused to purchase copies of it or[5] help it in other ways. In 1819 Government ordered, on the favourable report of the College Board, to be transmitted to England copies of *The Tales of Vikramárka* in Telugu compiled by K. Gurumurthy, a master in the College. It also ordered the printing and distribution for the use of its officials of an almanac prepared by the native astronomer of the College as well as the second edition of Campbell's *Telugu Grammar*. In the following year the proposal that Mr. Campbell should compile a Telugu Dictionary took definite shape; and Government permitted him[6] to take two native assistants from the College to Bellary where he was posted to help him in the preparation of his Dictionary. Again, on the recommendation of the College Board, Government passed orders that " Mr. Morris's elementary work in the Telugu language " be printed and published under its auspices and the author be sufficiently remunerated.[7] *The English and Telugu Dictionary* which Mr. Morris published in 1835 was compiled under the auspices of the College Board and

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[1] The work was entitled—*A Grammar of the Telugoo Language commonly termed the Gentoo*—It was, however, a tolerably correct treatise, being the translation of an original crabbed work.

[2] Public Consultations, 10th, March, p. 672; 26th April and 8th July (1815) pp. 672; 1116 and 1853 of Record Office volumes.

[3] Public Consultation—1st of June 1816 (Dispatch Nos. 55 and 56 in the Records).

[4] Consultation—14th of August, 1816 (Dispatch Nos. 20 and 21).

[5] *Consultation*—15th April, 1817 (Dis. No. 44 & 45).

[6] Consultation—23rd February, 1820 (Dis. No. 23-25).

[7] *Consultations* for 1820—18th July (Dis. No. 12 & 13); 1st August (Dis. No. 11 & 12); 20th October (Dis. No. 11 & 12).

was at their recommendation purchased by Government on behalf of the Hon'ble the Company to whom the copyright was assigned. In this compilation the author was assisted by the College Telugu Master, K. Gurumurthy Sastri, to whom reference has been already made.[1]

Besides Messrs. McKerrell, Dalziell, Campbell and Morris, we learn from a Consultation[2] that Mr. Boileau asked the help of a Telugu teacher in the completion of his Telugu Dictionary. Both Dalziell's *Dictionary* and W. Brown's *Grammar*[3] were refused assistance on the ground of lack of merit. Shortly afterwards, we read of the handsome donation made by Lieutenant Sinclair of certain Portuguese and Singalese manuscripts to the Library of the College. What use these were of to the Madras scholars we do not know at all. From a Despatch of the Court of Directors[4] we learn that instructions were given respecting the purchase of W. Brown's *Gentoo* (*Telugu*) *Vocabulary;* Campbell's *Telugu Dictionary;* Babington's Tamil work; Rottler's *Translation of the Liturgy;* Morris's *Telugu* work; McKerrell's *Karnataka* Grammar and other books. In continuation of their policy of patronising native authors, the Governor and Council[5] sanctioned a reward to Thandavaráya Vádhiar and the printing of *Amara Kósá* and three other works in Tamil. The College Board was further asked to report on certain of the Mackenzie Manuscripts[6] with a view to their extended use by publication; and the Tamil translation (perhaps a condensed account) of The Arabian Nights Stories made by one Gnana Mudaly was helped by Government purchasing a certain number of copies.[7] Mr. Charles Philip Brown, the well-known Telugu scholar, now began to rise into prominence. He had already translated the verses of Vémana, a rustic epigrammatic poet; and in 1827 he brought out at the request of Mr. Clark, a member of the College Board, *An Analysis of Telugu Prosody*, adding explanations of the Sanskrit system. Several books tendered by Mr. Brown were purchased by Government who recommended to the Directors the payment of 1,000 pagodas to him for the original manuscript of his treatise on Prosody. A few years later Government acquired the copyrights of *the Dictionaries of Morris and Reeve* on behalf of the Company. To revise the Tamil Dictionary about to be published by the Rev. Dr. Rottler, Government deputed Mr. Harkness who was assisted by two *munshies* and later Mr. A. Robertson.[8] The avidity for varied learning displayed by Major-General Sir John Malcolm whose sphere of

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[1] *A Dictionary English and Teloogoo* by J. C. Morris, F.R.S., (Madras, 1835)—Introductory Notice:—*Pub. Cons*, 27th February, 1827.

[2] Dated 24th August, 1821.

[3] This was William Brown (Cocchi) who died in 1837. In 1818 he printed a poor Vocabulary and a poorer Grammar. I recollect that he assured me the language "which he called Gentoo, possessed no literature"—p. XIII—Literary Life of C. P. Brown (*An English and Telugu Dictionary*—2nd edition).

[4] Embodied in Public Consultation, 7th October, 1823.

[5] Consultation, 3rd May, 1825.

[6] Pub. Cons., dated 16th May, 1826.

[7] Pub. Cons., dated 7th November 1826.

[8] Proceedings of Government in the Public Department—*Cons.* of 23rd December, 1828; and *Cons.* of 20th January, 1832.

activity lay mainly in the West of India is well illustrated in a Government Consultation[1] authorising the payment of the expenses incurred by Muttuswami Pillai in preparing a copy of Beschi's Tamil poem *Témbávaṅi* which was presented by Government to Sir John at his desire.

The continued assistance rendered by the College Board to Mr. Rottler and to his continuator Mr. Taylor in the compilation of the former's Tamil-English Dictionary[2] is seen in the association of T. Venkatachala Mudali a certificated teacher of the College in the work of its completion and revision. This comprehensive work refers nearly all words to their roots or primitives; the synonyms were largely drawn from the *Sadur Aharádi;* while Beschi's manuscript *Dictionary of the Common Dialect*, and another manuscript dictionary, Tamil and French, prepared by Du Bourges seem to have been made use of to some extent[3] as well as Fabricius' *Tamil and English Dictionary*. In 1851, one Captain Ouchterlony solicited Government for the patronage of his Tamil-English Lexicon. In 1853 the College Board solicited authority for retaining the Rev. Mr. W. Taylor's services for the formation of a *Catalogue Raisonnée* of the Oriental Manuscripts in the College Library.[4] According to C. P. Brown[5] who had a hand in accumulating the Mackenzie Manuscripts in the Madras College Library, the method adopted by Taylor was unsatisfactory, as he was acquainted with colloquial Tamil alone and unskilled in chronology and did not use the right method and phraseology in explaining the works. In 1854 the Rev. Miron Winslow, American Missionary in Madras, solicited Government patronage to his prospectus of *A Comprehensive Tamil and English Dictionary of High and Low Tamil.*[6] This work published in 1862, superseded all earlier works and helped in proving that "in its poetic form, the Tamil is more polished and exact than the Greek, and in both dialects with its borrowed treasures more copious than the Latin."[7] About the same date Caldwell's *Dravidian Affinities* was published, Government rendering him also some help.[8] Thus before the Company's rule ended, a brighter day had dawned for Tamil studies with the appearance of the works of Winslow and Caldwell who found worthy successors in Pope and others.

In Telugu studies, the labours of Mr. J. C. Morris supplemented by his brother, Mr. H. Morris, and of Mr. C. P. Brown stand out very prominently.

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[1] *Pub. Cons.* 28th June, 1831.

[2] *A Dictionary of the Tamil and English Languages* by the Rev. J. P. Rottler.—Vol. I, Part 1 (Madras, 1834); Vol. I, Part II (Madras 1836-37); Part III (Revised by W. Taylor and T. Venkatachala Mudali—1839); Part IV (Revised by W. Taylor and T. Venkatachala Mudali—1841).

[3] Pages IV and V of Preface to Rottler's *Dictionary*, Part IV (1841).

[4] *Pub. Cons.*, 15th February, 1853.

[5] P. XVIII of *The Literary Life of C. P. Brown* quoted above.

[6] Compiled with the assistance of native scholars; and from Manuscript materials of the Rev. J. Knight of Jaffna (died 1838) assisted by the Rev. P. Percival (Madras, 1862).

[7] *Ibid*, p. VII of Preface.

[8] *Pub. Cons.*, 13th January, 1854.

From a perusal of the Index volumes to the Proceedings of the Madras Government in the Public Department we are furnished with abundant testimony as to the educative value and popularity of Morris' *Telugu Selections;* Brown's *Dictionary;* and Campbell's *Telugu Grammar.* Brown rates his *Grammar* as being the most difficult and intricate of all his works, with the possible exception of his *Cyclic Tables of Hindu and Muhammadan Chronology.* Brown's works in Telugu are too numerous and varied for a detailed notice in this paper; but one may remember the *Nistára Ratnákaram* (Ocean of Salvation) which he revised from an unknown author being a summary of the Christian religion in Telugu metre. Brown himself says thus of the state of Telugu learning at the time when he commenced his labours. "When I began these tasks, Telugu literature was dying out; the flame was just glimmering in the socket. The Madras College founded in 1813 preserved a little spark . . . . "[1] An outburst of native authorship was the result which was to be marked in course of time by the development of a critical acumen. As early as 1839, one B. Subbarayulu published Carpenter's *English Synonyms with Telugu Explanations.* Strangely enough, Morris' *Telugu Selections* was translated into Malayalam by A. J. (later Sir) Arbuthnot who submitted it for support by Government.[2] Some years before this date appeared Captain Whistler's Translation into Telugu of the Arabian Nights; and almanacs in Telugu were published by the College Board. Malayalam and Kannada (Canarese) came in also for proportionate attention and encouragement by the College Board and by Government. It was the Rev. Mr. Whish that was first encouraged by the College Board in the compilation of a Malayalam Dictionary. A Consultation of 1834[3] supplied to England information regarding the works in the vernacular languages done by the late Mr. C. M. Whish. In 1847 Government gave financial assistance to the Rev. J. Reek's proposed grammar of the Malayalam language.[4] It was Mr. F. W. Ellis that first pointed out the abundance in Malayalam of Sanskrit derivations[5] "in a proportion exceeding half, equal perhaps to three-fifths of the whole under the two heads . . . . . common to the dialects of South India, *tat-samam,* pure Sanskrit words, or *tat-bhavam,* derived from Sanskrit." The *Désya* (native words) may be divided into pure Tamil and derivatives from Tamil. The study of the language was greatly facilitated in this generation by the Grammars of Mr. Spring of the Madras Civil Service and of the Rev. Mr. Peet of the Church Mission Society; and by the good and useful *Dictionaries of Malayalam and English,* and *English and Malayalam* compiled by the Rev. Mr. Bailey of the same Mission. In 1842

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[1] P. XXII of *the Literary Life of C. P. Brown* quoted above.

[2] Proceedings in the Public Department—27th November, 1849.

[3] Dated 8th July and answering a communication from the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland.

[4] Proceedings in the Public Department—13th July.

[5] Wilson's *Glossary of Judicial and Revenue Terms, etc.* (London—1855), p. XXIII (Preface).

Government patronage was solicited for the work of Mr. Bailey.[1] Both Government and the College went only a relatively little way to meet the need for printed books in this language which would provide students with easily workable manuals for study.

With regard to Kannada the want of a good dictionary was supplied early enough[2] in which the Madras College had a good share. A better dictionary, both Kannada and English, and English and Kannada, was published in four quarto volumes by Mr. Reeve of the London Missionary Society in 1832. The copyright of Reeve's work was acquired by the Company on the recommendation of the College Board in 1831.[3] Reeve commenced his labour as far back as 1817. He stressed upon the close affinity existing between Telugu and Canarese; and he made the fullest possible use of the *Telugu Dictionary* of Campbell and the *Sanskrit Dictionary* of Wilson. He had to encounter, as he says,[4] the full force of adverse conditions—"the rareness of ancient manuscripts, the endless blunders of drivelling and hireling transcribers, the paucity of duplicates for collation, and the comparatively very small number of men to be found among the natives, possessing appropriate philological information, soundness of judgment or zeal for literary research and improvement, have occasioned no inconsiderable suspense, annoyance and embarrassment." Records of 1849 tell us of the Government's recommendation to the Court of Directors that help should be given to the Rev. Mr. Moegling in publishing certain works of his in the Canarese language.[5] The same author was later promised aid in publishing the *Basava Purana* and the *Chenna Basava Purana*; but the Court of Directors considered that "the aid of Government should be confined to original works or to publications calculated to be uesful to junior civil servants and the expense of which is moderate."[6]

Works undertaken on behalf of the Madras Government like Ellis' *Mirási Tenure*, Robertson's *Glossary in Tamil and English of* words used in the law-courts may also be mentioned in this connection as having helped in the promotion of linguistic studies to some extent. Mr. Richard Clarke of the Madras Civil Service collected a great amount of materials relating to terms used in Government records, including Muhammadan law-terms; and his valuable *Manuscripts* were useful to Professor Wilson in his compilation of his inestimable *Glossary*. The publications of the Madras School Book Society, started in 1820 formed a most enlightened development of vernacular literature. The abolition of the College of Fort St. George in 1854, and the constitution of a Board of Examiners instead closed a most useful epoch of Governmental activity in this direction. Now that the critical study and promotion of the

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[1] *Pub.* Cons.,—29th November, 1842.
[2] *Grammar and Dictionary of Karnata* by J. McKerrell, M.C.S., (1820).
[3] *Pub. Cons.*, 2nd January and 12th March, 1824; and 28th June, 1831.
[4] Preface, page II: and Kittel—*A Kannada-English Dictionary*, (Mangalore, 1894); (Preface) pp. VII & VIII.
[5] *Pub. Consultation*—31st July.
[6] Proceedings in the Public Department of the 16th November 1852 (Disp. 19-21).

vernaculars is in full stimulus, it behoves us to gratefully remember and cherish the good pioneer work done by missionary enterprise and both directly and indirectly by Government agency also—which was promptly and willingly taken advantage of by native scholars and students. Further material for the elucidation of this interesting subject lies imbedded in the Records of the Public Department in the Madras Record Office and is easily available to the diligent scholar.

The Maratha Ambassadors at the Court of Delhi and their Correspondence.

(By Rao Bahadur D. B. Parasnis.)

It is intended to give here a brief account of an ancient and historic family of the Deccan, the Hingnes, who represented the Peshwas at the Court of Delhi from the year 1734 to 1800 A. D. The earliest allusion of this family that we find in history is in the memorable work of Grant Duff. In the first volume, the author refers to Deorao Hingne as the Vakil left at Delhi in 1719 by Balaji Vishwanath, the first Peshwa, to represent the Maratha cause at the Imperial Court. But this seems to be a mistake, as no authentic evidence proves the existence of such a personality in that period. The Marathas had undoubtedly by this time made themselves sufficiently powerful, and established their influence at Delhi so as to have their own representatives to watch carefully their interests at the Capital of the Moghuls; but it is doubtful whether this diplomatic post was actually held by any Maratha gentleman.

From reliable sources it appears that the ancestors of this family came from Nasik. They were the hereditary priests of the Peshwas. The first noteworthy person of this house was Mahadeo Bhat Hingne, a Deshastha Brahmin. He was well-versed in Vedic lore and had gone through all the sacred learning of the age, and in addition to it, was a great Persian scholar. He could read and write the Paishachee Character (old Modi?) which was then considered to be a great acquirement. His eloquence, his vast store of information, his talents, and his address had attracted the attention of the first Peshwa Balaji Vishwanath with whom he soon became a great favourite. Mahadeo Bhat used to accompany Balaji's camp and it may be supposed that he was with Balaji Vishwanath in his memorable campaign to Delhi in 1719, and it is likely that Grant Duff's " Deorao " might be this Mahadeo Bhat; but beyond this the mystery about Deorao is veiled in obscurity.

There is ample evidence in the Bakhars and other Marathi manuscripts that deal with this family, that Mahadeo Bhat played considerable part in the Maratha politics at Delhi from 1734 to 1740, during the regime of Bajirao I.

The following extract from a letter to Mahadeo Bhat from Bajirao supports this fact:—

> "Ranoji Scindia and Ramachandra Malhar have come to us. From them we have a clear idea of your important services. It is indeed a great pleasure to us to note this. We fully believe that the delicate mission will be continued with equal zeal and efficiency. These gentlemen have written to you on many points which require your immediate attention. You will keep us well informed about your progress. We also know that you desired to receive from us your yearly stipend of Rs. 100. We have sent to you Rs. 200 this year and for the last. Your services are indispensable to us. Always remain cheerful and attend to your duties."

In the year 1740 Bajirao Peshwa, the great Maratha Warrior died, when Mahadeo Bhat left Delhi and returned to the Deccan to pay a visit of condolence to Balaji Bajirao and Chimaji Appa. In the year 1741 he was again asked to proceed to Delhi to take over the duties of his office. At this time the Peshwa Balaji Bajirao was heavily in debt, and it was his desire to collect large sums of money from the Imperial Treasury to redeem his debt. The Moghul Empire was then on its decline and it was a suitable opportunity to gain the object. The services of such an active politician as Mahadeo Bhat were quite indispensable on this occasion. At this period Sawai Jaysing, the famous ruler of Jeypore, wielded great power and influence in the Imperial Court at Delhi, and through him the Peshwa attempted to carry out his design. This important mission of urging the claims of the Peshwa on the attention of this Rajput Prince on suitable occasions fell on Mahadeo Bhat. The following letter from the Peshwa contains instructions to Mahadeo Bhat to that effect:—

> "You will see Sawaijee and ably put before him our case and do all in your power to hasten the transaction. If you postpone the work, the time will soon glide away. The rainy season is drawing near. We rely entirely on Sawaijee's help. It rests with him to free us from debt. Get as much as you can from the Emperor. It well behoves the age and rank of such a friendly ally like Sawaijee to be of great use to us on this occasion."[2]

Mahadeo Bhat continued to be the diplomatic agent of the Marathas at the Court of Delhi till his death in 1746. Assisted by his sons, Bapuji Mahadeo and Damodar Mahadeo, he rendered most valuable services to the Peshwa in the Deccan. A close study of the history of that period reveals with what indefatigable energy, great devotion to his master, and a large measure of resourceful genius he played his role in extending the power of his countrymen in Rajputana and Hindustan. Mahadeo Bhat's superior intellect did not pass unnoticed even by the Emperor himself, for, Mahammad Shah took him in his

counsels and entrusted to him many important State matters, which were carried out to the entire satisfaction of His Imperial Majesty by the Maratha Envoy. He was well-rewarded by the Emperor by granting him a Jagir of rupees seven thousand in the province of Anter-wedá (the Doab).

On Mahadeo Bhat's death, his sons Bapuji Mahadeo and Damodar Mahadeo who had equally inherited their father's abilities succeeded him to his office as Peshwa's Vakil at Delhi. They maintained their influence and prestige in the Moghul Court with great ability and tact and rendered useful services to their master at Poona.

During the years 1750 to 1761 the Marathas reached the zenith of their power which naturally increased their diplomatic relations with the Court of Delhi. In all the political transactions of those days, one clearly discerns the genius of these brothers. During those years, great was the influence of the Marathas over the Rohillas, the Pathans, the Jats, the Rajputs and the Nawab of Oudh. Never was there so happy a union of military genius with able statesmanship. The arms of Scindia and Holkar were victorious everywhere. The Maratha power, which was a few decades before only a tiny rivulet in the hills of the Sahyadri, now expanded by tributaries, soon swelled into a mighty river, which threatened to inundate even the gorgeous city of Delhi. Had not the calamity of 1761, which shook the Maratha power to its very foundations taken place, the dream of the Maratha chiefs to make Delhi subsidiary to Satara would have become a reality. During this hey-day of the Maratha Confederacy, the efforts of the Hingne family were steadily directed towards increasing the Maratha influence at the Imperial Court. The great policy of these brothers was to subvert the power of the Pathans and the Rohillas and bring the Emperor Muhammad Shah entirely under the thumb of the Marathas. With this object in view they proposed to raise a Maratha Army of five thousand men to be permanently stationed at Delhi, and brought Antaji Mankeshwar, a military officer, from the Deccan to command it. They obtained from the Emperor a monthly subsidy of Rs. 30,000 for the expenses of their troops. This important event happened in 1753 A. D.

If these three gentlemen, *i.e.*, the two Hingne brothers and the Maratha Commander, had been of one mind, and had continued their work with the same zeal and devotion, their services would have been invaluable to their nation. But it was destined otherwise. Selfishness and jealousy, the two great defects of the Marathas of the eighteen century, soon asserted themselves. The Military Commander, Antaji Mankeshwar, began to hate the Hingne brothers. Hatred born of the greatness and influence of the latter at the Imperial Court quickly developed into unhealthy spirit of rivalry and spitefulness. The standing army of five thousand men commanded by an officer like Antaji could easily check the Nawab of Oudh, the Rohillas and the Pathans who were constantly hovering round Delhi to cut a slice of the plenthoric body

of the decaying Empire. Their sagacity was not slow to stir the embers of strife in the Maratha Camp. Attempts were made to corrupt Antaji and to win him over to their side. But the Hingne brothers with great skill and wisdom never allowed him to go astray. They exacted from him, in his own writing, that he acknowledged their authority, that he could ever obey their orders, that he and his army would serve the Empire, in which alone lay the good of their master (the Peshwa) and that no amount of money should induce him to help the Nawab or the Pathans against the Marathas.

But the great grandeur of the Moghul Court, the enormous fortunes of the Delhi nobles, and the great disorder in the administration of the Moghul Emperor once more stirred the ambitious spirit of Antaji. To eclipse the Hingne brothers, to raise himself in the eyes of populace and the Emperor, and to exercise great power and influence over the Durbaries, was the one great desire of his soul. Inspired by these motives, he fomented dissentions, created new disputes, and prejudiced the Peshwa against the Hingne brothers. The Hingne family lived at Delhi with great pomp and ceremony according to the customs and manners of those days. Their retinue was very large, consequently their finances were often in a straightened condition. They were not able to send the revenue of the districts over which they were ruling in the name of the Peshwa. The wily Antaji seems to have made a capital out of his circumstance. In the year 1757, when Raghunathrao Peshwa visited Delhi, things came to such a crisis that he confiscated the Jagir and the property of Bapuji Mahadeo Hingne. It may be interesting to mention the anecdote given in the Peshwa's Bakhar. On one occasion during Raghunathrao's stay in Delhi, a State banquet was arranged in his honour by Bapuji Mahadeo, who in the height of his power and fortune, asked some one there, "Who is Shrimant Dadasaheb Peshwa?" This question being greatly humiliating to a person like Roghunathrao, he got angry and instantly ordered the property of this Maratha Envoy to be thrown into the Jamna and confiscated all his Jagir. How far this story is true, is to be borne out by evidence. But there is no doubt that the relations between the Peshwa and the Maratha envoys at Delhi were strained at this period. In former times the Hingnes had extended their authority over many districts and had sent large sums of money to the Peshwa. They had also taken on themselves to pay the annual tribute of twelve lacs of rupees to the Imperial treasury, on account of the Nawab of Oudh, for which they had taken possession of the Meerat Mahal or the district of Meerat. But Raghunathrao Peshwa annexed the Mahal from their possession and gave it to Antaji Mankeshwar. This change meant great loss to the brothers—loss of prestige, power, and money. Damodar Mahadeo left Delhi and went to Poona to see the Peshwa Balaji Bajirao. He put before him his grievances and drew a touching picture of his past services and his present deplorable condition. Balaji then asked Raghunathrao to withdraw the orders. The latter agreed to do so only on

condition of receiving six lacs of rupees. In the fallen fortunes of the family it was very difficult for him to find the required sum. It was only when Chintaman Dikshit and Antaji Mankeshwar stood as securities that the orders were withdrawn. There is reason to believe that Bapuji Mahadeo and Purshottam Mahadeo later on regained their position in no time, and were amongst those wise counsellors who gave sound advice to Sadashiv Rao or Bhausaheb Peshwa in the Battle of Panipat in 1761. The disastrous result of this great battle was a great shock to the Maratha power and it temporarily undermined its influence at Delhi. Dark days once more came to this family. After the Battle of Panipat, the Hingne brothers lost their Jagir and with the loss came the worst evils of poverty. However the two brothers Purshottam Mahadeo and Bapuji Mahadeo kept up their courage in the national calamity and again flourished in the reign of the Peshwa Madhav Rao I. It appears from old historical papers that on the 17th of October 1769, the sanads of the Jagir were issued to them. Purshottam Mahadeo continued in his office from 1769 till his death which took place in 1783. Bapuji Mahadeo left Delhi. He seems to have passed his last days at Bundi and died there. Deorao Mahadeo, the youngest of all, went to Lucknow as a Vakil.

Purshottam Mahadeo's career as the Maratha representative at Delhi was most eventful. Almost all the important transactions between the Marathas and the Moghuls during the administration of Nana Phadnavis testify to his superior intellect and diplomacy. In the year 1783 Purshottam Mahadeo died. His son, Govind Purshottam, was then too young to assume his father's office. Consequently, the honest and faithful Karkoon of Purshottam Mahadeo, named Shankaraji Sakhadev, took on himself the duties of that office. The latter's integrity, loyalty and intelligence together with the most searching and perfect knowledge of Delhi enabled him to keep Nana Phadnavis and the Peshwa well-informed of every movement at Delhi. It appears from the original correspondence with the Poona Court that the minor son of Purshottam Mahadeo was never munificently paid and Deorao Mahadeo who made great fortune at Lucknow and Jhansi helped his cousin in no way, for Shankaraji Sakhadeo and Deorao Mahadeo were not on good terms. The years 1783 to 1788 witnessed many changes at Delhi. During these years Mahadaji Scindia became all powerful and established an unprecedented influence at the Imperial Court. There remained, therefore, no scope for the Peshwa's representative at Delhi. The separate office of a Maratha envoy had thus lost much of its dignity and importance. The enviable post of Vakil was degraded to the degree of a Akhbarnavis or a news-writer. A letter addressed by Govind Purshottam to Nana Phadnavis, Minister at Poona, speaks of the lamentable condition of the Maratha envoy at Delhi. It is interesting from various points of view and is given below:—

"We have to pay the ancestral debts, and also the arrears of our retinue. We had appealed in this connection to the Peshwa at Poona and in reply we

were told to mortgage some of our Jahagir and obtain the money required. Nearly three years have passed before we received this reply. Since then there has been either scarcity or famine and we have not received even a single pie from our Jahagir. We are literarily in the custody of our Sawkars. We are not allowed to leave our house and are in greatest difficulty. The reason is that Deorao Tatya left this place without paying the debt. He neither came back, nor has he sent to us even a single farthing, and the Sawkars say, ' If you similarly scare away from this place, what should we do? '. We therefore request you to grant us the revenue of Roshangad and this would only redeem us from our debt and enable us to pay the arrears of our soldiers. There is however another way out of the difficulty. Our property which has been in the possession of Government is yet under dispute. Deorao Tatya is at the Court. You should decide the case and give us what is our due share. This would be the proper solution of the difficulty. At present Patil Bawa (Mahadaji Scindia) is the highest authority at Delhi. The former administrators often took into consideration the number of our soldiers and took into account every other circumstance and gave us the allowance sufficient to maintain our honourable livelihood. Since the Battle of Panipat the Poona Government have ceased to take service from us. A few years ago Visajipant came here and by his orders, Dado Malhar discharged the duties of this office. Whenever Scindia and Holkar held the reins of Government here, every transaction was made by their Karkoons. Now the office of the Vakil has lost its former dignity and charm. The Imperial throne is now under our Master's control. The Emperor cares little for anything except for food and clothing. He has no desire for power or authority. If by the grace of God everything is managed satisfactorily no other power will have any control over this Court. It is therefore hoped that our Master will be pleased to continue the grants of our Jahagir that were in our possession and enjoyment, since the days of the Emperors Mahammad Shah and Ahmedshah.

The list of the grants is as follows:—

3 Paraganas of Gad Mukteshwar.
1 Afzalganj *alias* Visoganj (named after Visaji Pant Biniwale).
1 Rs. 4,400 per month received from the Amir's treasury.
1 Paragana Sarawa.
1 Thareda and thirteen villages.
1 Rs. 100 per mensem for octroi Duty.
1 Five villages from Purgana Sekorabad.
1 Purgana Sowana.
1 Purgana Jhadsa.
1 Grant from Nazibkhan.
1 Asala Purgana Loni.
1 Duty on goods from Sonpat Rs. 1,000 per month.

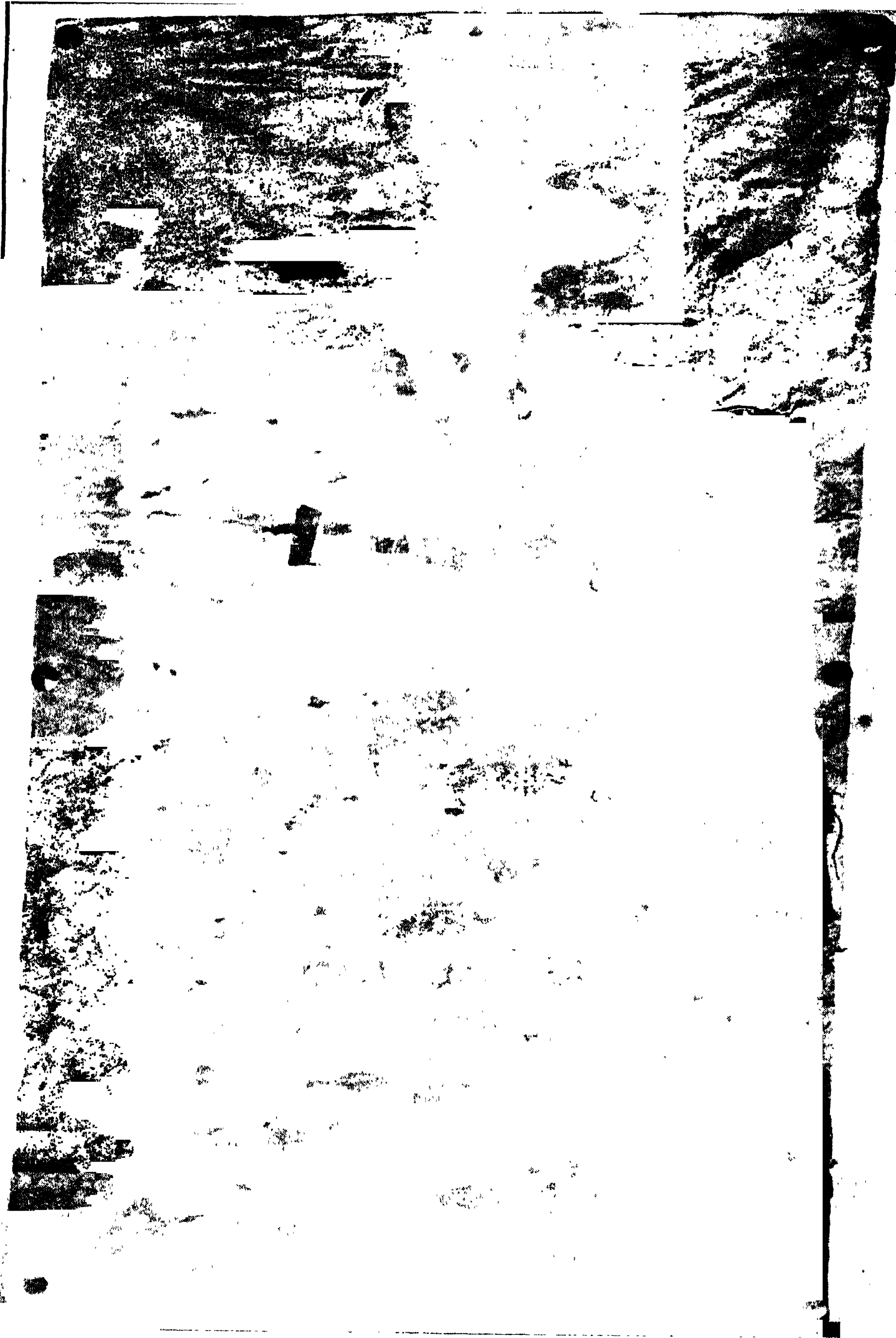
These were continued to us up to the Battle of Panipat. Since then Jats and others who became powerful have taken possession of it. Now the Imperial throne has come into our possession, and the administration is to be foreign (ours). The expenses are to be borne by the Emperor and the credit is to be ours. Under these circumstances please write to Patil Bawa and also to the Emperor to continue our Saranjam as before, and do recommend us to his favour. You are already aware that Ramchandra Bawa (Minister of Scindia) supported Damodar Pant Hingne and raised him to such a position that he was able to maintain a retinue of 24 elephants and 700 horses. Now you are our sole supporter like God Shriram. You will therefore kindly help us and raise us to our former position. What more to be written? Please be kind. This is the request of your servant."

Such is the brief history of one of the historic families of the Deccan who flourished at Delhi. As has been already told, Mahadeo Bhat, the founder of the Hingne family, had four sons, Bapuji Mahadeo, Damodar Mahadeo, Purshottam Mahadeo, and Deorao Mahadeo. The first three died one after another before the end of the year 1789. The last named came to the Deccan. He was a distinguished statesman. He was sent by Nana Phadnavis to Indore in the year 1793 on a diplomatic mission to settle the dispute between Ahilyabai and Tukoji Holkar, where he died in 1796. His descendants are at Chandori in the Nasik district. They enjoy at present some Inam villages bringing a revenue of Rs. 7,000 a year.

The complete correspondence between Hingne brothers and the Peshwas from 1780 to 1795 A. D. has become available. This period which elapsed between the first Maratha War and the Battle of Kharda when for the last time all the Maratha Chiefs united their forces under the Bhagwa Zenda, is the most eventful in the Maratha History. There was then a keen competition between the Marathas, the English, and the Rohillas to establish their power and supremacy at Delhi. It was then that the greatest Maratha statesman Nana Phadnavis was adjusting the tangled webs of the Poona State in its last stage. It was in that period that Mahadaji Scindia was showing to the world the great potential energy of his hardy Maratha soldiers. Then it was, that the political sky of the Deccan was illuminated by the last lingering stars of the Maratha genius, statesmanship and the Maratha warfare, and simultaneously with the setting of these stars there was the dawn of another great power—greater in civilization, superior in its statesmanship, organization, and discipline and more different in all its varied aspects than any of its predecessors. It was this period when the Maratha power, after a short but vigorous existence, was setting and another greater power was rising. Imagine a traveller who after going through the chequerred scene of nature on a full moon night comes to a spot on the horizon to enjoy the cool breeze of the honour. Imagine the dominant luminary of the night after its glorious reign retiring

from the sky, and the tender sun with its resplendent rosy robe coming through the gates of the east to rule over the visible range of the earth. The traveller is the historian, the scene is the period of fifteen to twenty years from 1780 to 1795 or even 1800 A. D. You will then have an idea of the raptures of the historian when after wading through many pages he comes to this part of the Maratha History.

That British power whose mighty Empire now extends over the farthest island of the world, over New Zealand, Australia, Canada, South Africa and India—vast Empire compared with which the ancient Roman Republic or Grecian power dwindles into insignificance was then in the very throes of its birth in the northern part of our peninsula. And when the Delhi correspondence deals with this period its importance and instructiveness at once become self-evident. The state of the fallen Court of Delhi is fully reflected in these letters, and for understanding the gradual decay of the Moghul Empire, and for diagnosing the causes of the sudden collapse of other powers in India, the information contained in those letters will be simply invaluable. With its aid, the rise of the British power will be more intelligently followed, and lastly, we shall be able to see how far the contents of these letters about the downfall of the Moghul Empire compare with the account given by Mr. Keene in his admirable work, the " Fall of the Moghul Empire."



FARMAN OF MARYAM ZAMANI.

(Reproduced from a photographic negative kindly lent by Khan Sahib Zafar Hasan.)

Farman of Maryam Zamani, the mother of the Emperor Jahangir.

(By Khan Sahib Zafar Hasan, B.A.)

This farman has been recently offered to me for sale and with the permission of the owner I take this opportunity to discuss it before you in this paper. According to the old Mughal documents it begins with the expression الله اکبر and bears a seal mark of the issuing authority and an *Unwan*. Unfortunately it is not in a well preserved condition, and is only partly readable, indicating that it was issued by Maryam Zamani in favour of one Mudabbir Beg to restore his Jagir which was usurped by one Suraj Mal at the Pargana Chaupala (the modern Moradabad) in the Sarkar of Sambhal. The seal impression bears the inscription ولی نعمت بیگم والده نورالدین جهانگیر بادشاه (Wali Nimat Begam, the mother of the King Nuru-d-Din Jahangir), and the *Unwan*, which, being damaged, is only fragmentary, reads... حکم مریم زمانی (the order of Maryam Zamani) and these two entries clearly show that Maryam Zamani, who also had the title of ولی نعمت بیگم (Wali Nimat Begam) was the mother of Jahangir. The latter title seems to have been conferred on the accession of Jahangir.

Now there is a tradition that Akbar had a Christian wife and the guides, showing the house named after Maryam Zamani at Fatehpur Sikri and her tomb at Sikandra, freely relate this story, and call her the Portuguese wife of that emperor. The tradition, however, receives no support from any historical record, but it is strange that a reference to Akbar's Christian wife has been made by a scholar like the Reverend Father Felix in his valuable paper on Farmans, Parwanahs and Sanads issued in favour of the Jesuit Missionaries. This paper was read by him before the Punjab Historical Society on the 18th January 1913 here at Lahore, and was published in a special issue of their Journal in the year 1916. The Reverend Father says "...... the story of John Philip Bourbon of Navarre, a scion of the French royal house, who, it is said, married Lady Juliana, sister of Akbar's Christian wife."* The Reverend Father quotes no authority, and it therefore appears that he has based his information on traditions only. The contemporary historians are silent about the real name of Maryam Zamani, her nationality or religion, nor is there any reference to her relation with Jahangir. In this respect the information supplied by the farman is invaluable, and its importance cannot be overestimated.

Maryam Zamani was the daughter of Raja Behari or Behara Mal Kachhwaha of Amber, the modern Jaipur, who was the first Rajput that joined Akbar's court and consented to make a matrimonial alliance with him. She was married to Akbar at Sambhar in the year 968 A.H. (1560 A.D.). In the

* Journal of the Punjab Historical Society, Special Number, Vol. V, No. 1, P. 1.

year 977 A.H. (1569 A.D.) she gave birth to Jahangir at the house of the saint, Shaikh Salim Chishti at Fatehpur Sikri, where she was sent at the time of her confinement with the object that the new born child should receive the blessings of the saint. She died in the year 1032 A.H. (1622 A.D.). It seems that she was not cremated like a Hindu princess, but was buried in the tomb which still stands near the mausoleum of her husband at Sikandra some five miles from Agra.

Strictly speaking the document is not a farman but an order in the form of a letter. A farman was also an order but with the technical distinction that it was issued under the name and the State seal of the reigning king, and contained the term "Farman" quoted in the text and also written with the name and the titles of the king in Tughra style at the head in vermilion. The State seal comprised small circles containing the names of Timur and his lineal descendants down to the reigning king whose name and titles occupied the centre.

It was on very exceptional cases that official documents such as Sanads or Parwanas were issued by a queen or princess, and those who enjoyed this privilege like Nur Jahan and Jahan Ara held the highest rank in the imperial harem. Thus the document under notice indicates the leading position of Maryam Zamani in the harem. It runs as follows:—

الله اکبر

(مهر) ولي نعمت بیگم والده نورالدین جهانگیر بادشاه

(عنوان) حکم مریم زماني . . . . . .

(Line 1) نقابت ماب کامل‌العقل . . . . . (Line 2) سیادت قابل الرعایت والاحسان سید . . . . . (Line 3) بعنایت، امیدوار بوده بداند که چون مدبر بیگ یکی از خانه‌زادان و خیرخواهان این درگاه . . . . . (Line 4) رسانیده که جاگیر این بنده را ازانگاه که دیوانیان عظام در پرگنه چرپاله از سرکار سنبهل تنخواه داده اند . . . . . (Line 5) مالواجبي بگماشتهاے این کمترین وصول نرسیده و سورجمل زمیندار آنجا تغلب و تمرد نگاه داشته . . . . (Line 6) که بر مضمون فرمان علیة‌العالیه اطلاع یافته آنچه معامله سابق و حال مشارالیه مانده باشد رعایا را بحضور خود طلب نموده (Line 7) بحقیقت واقعي وارسیده بدهاند و نگذارد که یک فلوس ویک جیتل سورجمل بتغلب و تمرد نگاه دارند درین باب تاکید تمام لازم (Line 8) دانسته حسب‌الحکم عمل نموده [بتقدیم] برساند و از فرموده تخلف نورزد . . . . . . في التاریخ . . . (Line 9) ماه تیر الهي سنه .

Translation

"God is great

Seal:—Wali Nimat Begam, mother of the king Nuruddin Jahangir.

Unwan:—The order of Maryam Zamani..........................the asylum of dignity and perfect wisdom......................chieftainship, worthy of kindness and beneficence, Syed............should be expectant of favour and know that whereas Mudabbir Beg, one of the slaves and well-wishers of this court......, has represented that the fiscal authorities have granted him a jagir at the pargana of Chaupala in Sarkar Sambhal in lieu of his pay but its assets have not been realised by his agents and Suraj Mal Zamindar embezzles and usurps them. (It is hereby ordered) that on learning the contents of the farman of Her Exalted Highness he should summon the ryot before him and making enquiry into the matter get all the dues, the present revenue and arrears, paid to the aforesaid Mudabbir Beg, and he should not permit Suraj Mal to embezzle or usurp a single *Fallus* or *Jital*.* Considering this imperative, he should bring the order to execution and do nothing contrary to it.........On the date........., the month of Tir of Ilahi year... ."

Nicolao Manuchy's Will and Testament.

(By Mons Singaravelou Pillai.)

Before publishing Nicolao Manuchy's testament, I wish to say a few words about this historical personage.

Others more competent than myself such as—

(1) Mr. Henry Davidson Love, late Lieutenant-Colonel, Royal Engineers, Hon. Fellow of the University of Madras, in his work "Indian Records Series," *Vestiges of Madras*, 1640—1800, in four volumes 1913,

(2) Mr. L. M. Anstey in The Indian Antiquary, March 1920 under the title of "More about Nicolao Manuchy,"

(3) The late Mr. William Irvine, Assistant Magistrate of Saharanpur, in the introduction to the translation of his book "Storia do Mogor," 1653—1708 (Indian Text Series, 4 Vols., 1907—1908) and lastly my intimate friend Mr. Jadunath Sarkar, M.A., Professor, Patna College, in his work "Studies in Mughal India," have already related the life and work of this important personage.

So, as an addendum to their publications, I wish to lay before you the results of my historical researches concerning this celebrated Venetian diplomat.

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* *Fallus* and *Jital* were copper coins.

Nicolao Manuchy was born at Venice in 1639 and visited India as a traveller during the reign of Shah Jahan in 1686. His knowledge of the art of Aesculapius made him the first doctor to the sons of the Great Mughal Emperor Aurangzeb. His profession retained him in the Great Mughal's Court for forty years and there he lived in close friendship with the Emperors and the viziers and he got even admittance into the seraglio, a privilege not easily bestowed. That intimacy and his sojourn in the Court for nearly half a century enabled him to complete his work in Portuguese under the title of "*Histoire Generale de l'Empire Mogol depuis sa fondation.*" It is those manuscripts that Father Francois Catrou of "The Society of Jesus" translated into French in 1705 and published in two volumes. It is also with those memoirs, that *Jean Laët* prepared his notes on the Mughals under the name of "Nos fragmentum e Belgico, quod e genuino illius Regni Chronico expreffum credimus libere vertimus." Mr. Manuchy has also published a book called "Guerras de Golconda e Visapour com varios successos ate a era de 1700," in three volumes.

We also owe him the fine collection of Indo-Persian paintings which he took to Europe in 1691 and which have since remained deposited in the National Library in Paris.

His honesty, his impartiality and his scholarship in Eastern languages led to his appointment by the Madras Government as well as by that of Pondicherry as an ambassador and extraordinary messenger to the Nobab of Arcot and other princes to carry them presents and seek easy ways of consolidating their relations and in critical moments to make use of his talent to settle delicate matters of diplomacy. He fulfilled with great cleverness such missions to the Nobab of Arcot in 1687-1712 under Thomas Pitt, Francois Martin, Dumas and Hebert. In support of my above assertion I now refer to the Records of Fort St. George Diary and Consultation book of 1701, page 3—"One Senr. Nicolas Manuchi a Venetian and an inhabitant of ours for many years who has the reputation of an honest man besides, hee has liv'd at the King's Court upwards of thirty years and was a servant to one of the Princes, and speaks the Persian Language excellently well, for which reasons wee think (him) the proprest person to send at this time with our Chief Dubash Ramapah and have unanimously agreed with the advice of all that were capable of giving it, to send the following presents in order to their setting out to-morrow on their journey, and have deliver'd in our Instructions and Letters as enter'd after this Consultation."

In 1670 he resided in Lahore and practised his profession of doctor in the royal family. In the last days of his life he lived sometimes in Madras, sometimes at Pondicherry and chose the latter as his favourite residence.

Testament.

Before the Secretary of the "Conseil Superieur" and the Royal Company of France at Pondicherry, the undersigned and in presence of two witnesses

mentioned in the sequel, was present Mr. Nicolao de Manuchy, inhabitant of Pondicherry, sound in mind, memory and sense, as it appeared to us and to the above witnesses having for the following purpose, repaired to the office of the above Secretary who, willing to be ready for the certain hour of death, afraid of being caught by the uncertainty of death, without having put to right his concerns and disposed of his properties which God pleased to give him, has made and dictated to me, the above Secretary, his testament and statute of last will as follows:

In the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy-Ghost, at first, as a true Christian and good Catholic, has recommended and recommends his soul to God, the Creator, the Father, the Son, and the Holy-Ghost entreating His Divine Majesty by the infinite merits of death and passion of his only son our Saviour, Jesuschrist, by the intercession of the Glorious Virgin Mary, of St. Nicolas, his good patron and of all the saints and very happy souls to receive his soul coming out of his body and to be willing to place it in His Holy-heaven.

Ditto has declared he desires that his body should be buried in the church of the Capuchin monks at Pondicherry very near "Le Benistier" and that a high-mass may be sung over his body with ordinary service assisted by all the fathers who may then be present.

That his soul may rest in peace as early as possible and for that purpose, he gives and leaves by will to the above Capuchin Monks the sum of twenty current pagodas.

Ditto has declared that he gives to the said Capuchins of Pondicherry the sum of sixty current pagodas, to make them pray for the repose of his soul.

Ditto has declared he gives the poor five current pagodas which will be distributed after the service, on the day of his burial.

Ditto has declared he gives Nicolas Beuret, Charles' son, his god-son in Pondicherry the sum of five current pagodas.

Ditto has declared he gives and leaves by will to his god-son, Pierre Forchet called Duquenol a similar sum of five current pagodas.

Ditto has declared he gives and leaves by will to the eldest daughter of Mr. Delalande, clerk, the sum of twenty current pagodas for her marriage.

Ditto has declared he gives ten pagodas to the Capuchins of Pondicherry, to pray to God for the souls in Purgatory.

Ditto has declared he gives and leaves by will to one Patchy Ko by name residing in Madras the sum of five current Pagodas.

Ditto has declared he gives and leaves by will to the children of one Reginal of Madras the sum of six current pagodas.

Ditto the testator in question has declared that the sum of six hundred and seventy pagodas and the eight hundred pagodas he has in the Treasury of the above Company of France at Pondicherry may be withdrawn with interest

and formed into a capital together with all the other assets which may be received after his death, the said capital to be used by Mr. le Chevalier Hebert and Counsellors of the "Conseil Superieur" of Pondicherry in purchasing diamonds and other precious goods, the whole to be handed over to the ambassador of Venice or any other agent of Venice in Paris, that the testator in question requests to have the above goods handed over to Mr. Andre Manuchy, his brother or to his heirs at Venice to whom he gives and leaves by will the above properties.

And for executing the present testament by increasing rather than deminishing the bequests he requests Mr. le Chevalier Herbert, the Governor of Pondicherry to be pleased to take the trouble and nominate him for the purpose, having entire confidence in him.

This will was so made, dictated and nominated by the testator in question to the above Secretary who in the presence of the witnesses read and re-read this present testament which he said he had heard well and wished to be executed according to its form and tenor.

Leaving aside anyother testament and codicil which he might have made with his own hand, he wishes only this to have effect; made and passed at Fort Louis in Pondicherry in the office of the above Secretary in the year 1712, the eighteenth day of January in the forenoon in the presence of Mr. François Moufle Ecuyer, Delafosse, Lieutenant d'infanterie and Pierre Elyer de la Vaupalier, clerk of the above Royal Company of France at Pondicherry who are the witnesses called by the testator. The testator and the witnesses have given their signatures along with me, the above Secretary;

Signed : NICOLAO MANUCHY.
Signed : MOUFLE DELAFOSSE.
Signed : ELYER DE LA VAUPALIER.
Signed : DELORME.

Address of Nicolao Manuchy's relatives.

His two brothers, Andre and George Manouchy.

His two maiden sisters Angella and Francisca.

A third one who he is not sure is alive, Perine.

Residing at the quarters of St. Jean, Evangelist St., Stin, Venice.

NOTA.—This information about his family address has been found in a bit of paper attached to the present testament. I have found this testament among the notarial records of Pondicherry. The paper has become yellow and is so dotted with holes here and there that two or three words cannot be deciphered.

According to the will of the testator, he wished to die at Pondicherry and be buried there, but he lived long after making his testament as is evidenced by the following events. None is sure of the date of his death. Several have assigned it to the years 1711—1712 but they are quite wrong.

Mr. H. Dodwell, *ex*-curator of old Records, Madras, now professor in the School of Oriental Studies in the University of London says in the preface to his book "Records of Fort St. George Minutes of Proceedings in the Mayor's Court of Madraspatam (June to December 1689 and July 1716 to March 1719) . . . . A still more interesting person who appears here, is "Dr. Manuch," with his characteristic suit against a "Moorman" to recover winnings at Back-gammon. The date of the suit shows moreover that the time of Manucci's death must be assigned to a later period than Mr. Irvine supposed."

Mr. Julian James Cotton, I.C.S., in his work "List of Inscriptions on Tombs or Monuments in Madras" page 3, No. 8 (6th October 1683) says . . . "Clarke's widow married the Venetian Nicolao Manucci, who died at San Thome about 1709, aged 74. Manucci lived in Madras from 1686 till his death."

It cannot be that he died in 1709 as he was alive in 1712 and made his will on the 18th January of the same year. Again it is said that he died at San Thome. But there is no proof of any tomb having been built there for him. I have gone thro' the notarial Records from 1712, the date of the above will to 1725 five years after the first appearance of his second will and codicil of the 18th January 1719 (dated Madras). I have not found any record about the date of his death and bequests. After the discovery of his second will I made sure he was alive in the year 1719.

Mr. L. M. Anstey in his article: "More about Nicolao Manucci" (Indian Antiquary, March 1920, pages 52, 53) says: "On January 14, 1712 the president of (Madras) . . . . informed the Board that a special order had come to Pondicherry calling for Manucci's attendance at Shah-Alam's Court (then at Lahore) . . . .

However the Emperor Muazzam Bahadur Shah, the first, *alias* Shah-Alam the first, died at Lahore on February 27." Mr. Manucci lived then surely at Pondicherry, for it is there he made his first will of the 18th January 1712. Therefore, he could not go to Lahore at the call of Shah-Alam the first. He could not make that journey, for on the 23rd January 1712, Mr. le Chevalier Hebert sent him on a mission to the Nobab of Arcot. That mission was the last one which he fulfilled to the entire satisfaction of the Governor of Pondicherry and his counsellors. From the 3rd December 1718 to the 30th January 1719, he was claiming by means of a law-suit the money that Cojee-Baba (Kwaja Baba) owed him. So he was still alive in 1719.

Mr. H. D. Love in his second volume, "Vestiges of old Madras" says in page 125 . . . . the date of Manucci's death and the mode of disposal of his property are alike unknown . . . ." Therefore Mr. Love ignored completely the existence of a will. Among the notarial records of Pondicherry, there is a contract of exchange between Mr. Manuchy and Dela Prevostiere dated the 3rd July 1709. "Before the Secretary of the

Conseil Superieur" of the Royal Company of France at Pondicherry, the undersigned, were present: Mr. Pierre Andre Dela Prevostiere, counsellor for the above Company and Nicolao Manouchy residing at present in Madras who made together the following agreements namely: that the above Mr. Dela Prevostiere made over, released and transferred by right of selling and by interchange to the above Mr. Manuchy accepting of the present of a house situated in that town New Gate-Street of Goudelour etc. and in exchange and for the payment for the above house the above Mr. Manuchy made over, released and transferred to the above Mr. Dela Prevostiere a house of Mr. Manouchy situated at Grand-Mont near San-Thome. That house was bought from Mr. François thro' contract of exchange passed before the Tabellion (notary) of San-Thome on the 9th of August 1697; which Mr. Guetty bought from one Jean Antoine Flaman by name thro' contract passed before the Tabellion (notary) on the 27th of July of the same year." (Nota.—M. Dela Prevostiere was the Governor of Pondicherry) from the 20ieth August 1718 to 11th October 1721.

22nd February 1711.—Contract of sale made by Mr. Nicolao Manuchy to Mr. Edouard de la Cloche. Mr. Nicolao Manouchy residing in that town (Pondicherry) sold to Mr. Edouard de la Cloche, capitaine des vaisseaux, residing at present in Madras a land closed with earthen walls with a house and a garden situated at Madras beyond Thomas Clarke bridge (received from Thomas Clarke's inheritance thro' his wife) to the value of eight hundred pagodas.

The will being dated 12th January 1712, we may be led to think perhaps he died in the course of the year or in the ensuing years. Bearing this hypothesis in mind I went thro' the records of the "Etat-Civil" in which births, deaths and marriages are registered. It was a fruitless search. I found nothing about the date of his death; but it was not all in vain; because in the course of my researches, I discovered a second will with its codicil made at Madras on the 8th January 1719. It is in Portuguese. The paper has also turned yellow; it is very difficult to read and make it out. For the paper is in a very bad condition; as soon as we touch it, it crumbles down. If the paper were in good condition we might have found some changes he might have wished to introduce in the disposal of his properties mentioned in the first will. This will is in four pages signed by the testator Nicolao Manuchy and M^ie^ de M. Famirante and then comes the codicil signed by Nicolao Manouchy and Mr. Quiel de Lima at the end of signatures two seals are affixed in red wax bearing the arms of the Company. Then it bears the following mention: The present will is on this day the 23rd August 1720, deposited by the Capuchin Monk, Thomas, Missionary, in the registry of the "Conseil Superieur" of this town to be kept as original and copies to be handed over and delivered to those whom it may concern.

Signed: F. THOMAS, CAPUCHIN MONK, M. A.,
Du Laurens,

According to the wish expressed in his first will Mr. Nicolao Manuchy wished to die at Pondicherry and to be buried there. His desire has not been fulfilled, because, if he had truly died at Pondicherry, the record of his death would have been indubitably entered in the registers of the "Etat-Civil." This leads me to conclude that he died elsewhere. According to Mr. Cotton, he must have died at Mylapore. It is not proved by any inscription about him; nor was there any tomb built over his grave. Therefore nobody can say with certainty the exact place of his death.

I think, it is but a hypothesis that Mr. Manucci in his second will would have also indicated the place where he wished to be buried and the properties which he bequeathed to his heirs.

As his will with its codicil was deposited in the registry of the "Conseil Superieur" by the Capuchin Monk Thomas on the 23rd August 1720, I suppose he must have died on the 22nd or 23rd August of that year; for such deposits are made the very day or the day after the testator's death. Till we find something to prove the contrary we may safely assume that the celebrated Venetian died on the 22nd or 23rd of August 1720.

I am still going on with my researches to find out the exact day of his death and publish in extenso any new discoveries I might make in the course of my studies.

NOTA.—Writers spell in different ways the word Manucci: Manuch Nicolas-Manucho Senhr Nicola-Manuchee Monsr-Manucho Senor-Nicolao Mannuci-Manooch-Senhr Nichola Manuch-Signor Niccolao Manucci-Manoucha-Manuchy-Nicolas Manook-Manuch-Dr. Nicola Manouchy-Manouchi.

The true spelling is Nicolao Manuchy in conformity with his signature found in different records which are found in the Pondicherry archives.

Rup Mati of Mandu.

(By L. M. Crump, C.I.E., I.C.S.)

Rup Mati's name is familiar to all acquainted with Mandu itself and to all readers of the chroniclers of the day and still lives, for her music, her song, her romantic love of Baz Bahadur and her tragic death, "green as Malwa's monsoon hills."

Legends of her birth, of the sudden passion which burnt Baz Bahadur and herself, and the over-true tale of her suicide are still told in Mandu. Among the historians, the best version is that of the Akbar-Nama, which tells how in desperation at her inability to avoid the advances of Baz Bahadur's conqueror Adham Khan, Koka, the general sent by Akbar in 1561 to conquer Malwa, "her faithful blood became aglow and from love to Baz Bahadur she bravely quaffed the cup of deadly poison and carried her honour to the chambers of annihilation."

I had long been interested in Mandu and in Rup Mati. I was aware of the verses translated by Sir A. Cunningham and printed in Colonel Luard's brochure on Dhar and Mandu and those quoted by the "Bombay Subaltern" in the notes to his "History of Mandu" and of the statement, that Rup Mati's verses were still extant in Malwa. On my return to Malwa in 1923, I found assistance at my doors in Pandit Balbhadra Sinha of Sehore, who collected eight short songs for me. The attribution of these to Rup Mati is entirely traditional. Then there seemed likely to be a check but unexpected and very welcome assistance arrived in the person of Bashir-ud-din Khan, B.A., LL.B., of Bhopal, a young scholar, who had been making independent research into the reign of Sher Shah and had studied many unpublished manuscripts of that era.

As Sher Shah had appointed Shuja'at Khan, Baz Bahadur's father, to be Governor of Malwa it appeared not unlikely that among these papers there might have been manuscripts dealing with the history of Baz Bahadur and Rup Mati. I questioned him accordingly. At first he could not recollect any manuscript of the sort, but on reflection added that at one house in Bhopal, where he had found several manuscripts, he had noticed a few pages in which the names of Rup Mati and Baz Bahadur were mentioned.

This was highly interesting news and I at once sent him off to search, and the first finds were some eight pages in Persian of the beginning of "A strange tale of faithfulness" and one or two later leaves. One of the first fruits of this discovery was that the birthplace of Rup Mati was definitely set down as Sarangpur, as Sir John Malcolm had stated (though misspelling the name Saharanpur) and as I was already aware, in Sarangpur there existed a tomb which has from time immemorial been pointed out as that of Baz Bahadur and Rup Mati. The further statement that Rup Mati was of Brahman birth led to enquiries not only in Sarangpur but from the Brahmans of that place whether among them were preserved, orally or otherwise, any verses and songs attributed to her. The result was the production, mainly in manuscripts of at least 100 years old, of the remaining songs, including the beautiful love-letter in verse, from which I will quote later.

While this search was going on, Bashiruddin had been busy in Bhopal, hunting for further portions of the Persian manuscript and in the course of two or three months these were found page by page and pieced together. Each gap in the text became the starting point of a new search and eventually the whole story was complete and appeared to end, appropriately enough to its title, on the words "If Nizami had occasion to read this strange tale, he would have learnt that women too, may be faithful unto death."

Reflection, however, upon the author's style and predilections rendered it almost impossible to my mind that he could have checked his natural

instinct and ended so abruptly, and I soon persuaded Bashiruddin of this. He returned once more to the search and after a period of ten days returned in triumph with the long and interesting disquisition on woman which forms the last part of the manuscript, the impressive peroration and the final note of the copyist, Mir Ja'afar Ali.

This, with its statement that "the original was embellished with pictures and of these three came into my hand" became the immediate starting point of a new trail. The son of Inayat Ali who had purchased and brought the manuscript to Bhopal and inscribed on it the last couplet, was unable to throw any light on the subject and it was only after consulting his mother, that he found that some pictures had been sold by his father to one Aziz-ur-rahman of Tonk in Rajputana. Enquiries after him, had, then to be made in Tonk and it was eventually discovered that he had removed to Hyderabad (Deccan). There the search had to be restarted but eventually the quarry was found.

Enquiry was naturally made about three pictures only, of which Aziz-ur-rahman admitted possession and gave the subjects as "The Adornment of the bride" "Rup Mati and Baz Bahadur in seclusion at Mandu" and "The last scene." Offers of purchase were made but were uncompromisingly refused. The fish, however, was biting and eventually Aziz-ur-rahman turned up in Bhopal but unfortunately a day or two after I had been transferred to Gwalior. After long bargaining Bashiruddin succeeded in getting from him three pictures which he forwarded to me. They were—

1. "Rup Mati in the lap of the tirer of the bride, even as the cup at the lip and the mirror in the hand" "marked" "the work of Sanwlah."
2. "Baz Bahadur and Rup Mati in seclusion at Mandu indulging in the delights of love" "marked" "the work of Govardhan."
3. A picture bearing no title but a variant of No. 2 apparently by the same artist.

There was thus no picture to which the title of "The last scene" could be assigned and hence further enquiry was made. This led to the production of two more pictures.

4. "This is the miserable end of this story, which began in love and faithfulness"—without any attribution.
5. "A martyr to faithfulness" "marked" "the work of Chitarman."

Some comment will be made on the pictures at a later stage but here I only remark on the extreme good fortune which attended me in my quest, in finding almost at the same time two such enthusiasts as Pandit Balbhadra Sinha and Bashiruddin and in discovering in the Persian manuscript such an admirable pointer in the search for Rup Mati's verses.

Of the author of the manuscript and its history.

Little is known of Ahmad-ul-Umari, the author of the story told in the manuscript, beyond what is stated in the note appended to it by Mir Ja'afar Ali, the copyist. From that it appears that he was in the service of Sharaf-ud-din Hussain Mirza, who was a commander of 5,000 at Akbar's Court and was on his mother's side himself a descendant of Timur. He rebelled in 1563 A.D. and died of poison in 1581 A.D. Ahmad-ul-Umari does not appear to have been involved in his ruin and he lived until the early years of Jahangir's reign. He appears to have taken a particular interest in the Emperor Sher Shah and was responsible for a collection of his firmans but beyond this nothing is known of him. From his manuscript however it is evident that he was gifted with a poetic if, to the Western mind, a somewhat turgid, imagination and that at times he strikes out phrases of great originality and beauty. Though a Muhammadan, he had studied Hindu thought, and though an Oriental, he had views on women, almost European in their liberality. It is impossible not to regret that there is little or no chance of further acquaintance with this prose poet, this romantic historian, this oriental feminist.

"This woeful history was written down in the 43rd year of the reign of Sultan Jalal-ud-din Akbar Shah—may God preserve his kingdom for ever," So Ahmad-ul-Umari records in the beginning of the manuscript thus giving the date of writing as 1599 A.D.—thirty-eight years after Rup Mati's death and probably less than ten after Baz Bahadur's. The original manuscript apparently passed to his grandson Fulad Khan who had a friend Mir Ja'afar Ali. He found the story so interesting, that, after reading it at Agra in the year 1653 A.D. he made a copy of it and secured three of the pictures, with which the original was embellished, and apparently had others painted for his own copy. He also inserted in the text certain verses of Sáib, a well known Persian poet of Jahangir's reign.

At the end of Mir Ja'afar Ali's copy are various seals, apparently those of later owners of the manuscript. None of these is, however, decipherable; but there is one legible signature and one legible note. The signature is that of Mahbub Ali, a well known Muhammadan divine of Delhi, who flourished in the middle of the nineteenth century. He was a man of great learning and his possession of the manuscript shows that he must have attached considerable value to it. On his death it passed to a lady of his family, with which the family of Jamadar Inayat Ali of the Bhopal State is connected and from whom Inayat Ali bought it in Agra. He added to it very appropriately, the final couplet.

> "Seek not on earth my grave when life depart:
>
> My sepulchre is every faithful heart."

Of the pictures.

The specific dating of the original manuscript and of Mir Ja'afar Ali's copy and the clear history of it have some bearing on any estimate that may be formed of the date and genuineness of the pictures. The subjects of these have been enumerated above and three of them are marked with attributions to Sanwlah, a well known painter of Akbar's time, to Govardhan and to Chitarman, both well known painters of Jahangir's and Shahjahan's times. This does not mean that, as in the case of European artists, the pictures are signed, but the legend "the work of Sanwlah" (or Govardhan or Chitarman) is an attribution, presumably by the owner of the manuscript. So far as I have been to secure any opinions of value regarding the attribution of the pictures, the results are, it must frankly be confessed, not very favourable. The picture No. 5 in the Persian style attributed to Chitarman is unlike that artist's known work, and the same remark applies to the picture (No. 2) attributed to Govardhan. The artist of No. 3, however, is held to be the same as of No. 2 and of this there can be little doubt. The attribution of picture No. 1 to Sanwlah is held to be more probable, as it is in real Mogul style, though doubts are expressed as to its being of Akbar's time. The picture No. 4 is held to be quite clearly of the early time of Akbar, done for a manuscript, but not the same manuscript as that for which Nos. 2, 3 and 5 were done.

I cannot set any artistic opinion of mine against these views, but, as already stated, weight should be given to the apparently trustworthy statements of the manuscript and to its connected history. There, are, also some other points to be taken into consideration before, if not the attributions, at any rate the dating of the pictures as contemporary at any rate with Mir Ja'afar Ali's copy of the manuscript, can be set aside.

The legend on picture No. 1, whose attribution to Sanwlah is held more probable, is from Naoi, a poet of Akbar's time, who, though mentioned in the Ain-i-Akbari, was not widely known nor much read afterwards.

The legend of No. 4, which is held to be of early Akbar's time, as a quotation, if not quite accurate, from the manuscript: The variation is in the use of "ulfat," affection, for "wafa," faithfulness, which is the key word of the whole manuscript, and the inscription is undoubtedly in the hand of Mir Ja'afar Ali, the copyist. It may be assumed then with safety, that he inserted the picture in the manuscript and wrote on it the legend.

Picture No. 5 was recovered in a very dilapidated condition and had to be carefully reset. The legend, however, is in Mir Ja'afar Ali's hand and is a phrase, the key phrase indeed, of the manuscript, and both the legend and the artist's name are on the picture itself. Here again it may be

assumed, that Mir Ja'afar Ali inserted this picture in his copy and further believed in the attribution to Chitarman.

These considerations should, I submit, be weighed before the attribution and the dating of the pictures are disregarded.

Which three pictures Mir Ja'afar Ali secured from the original manuscript cannot, of course, be stated, but there is some probability that he would try to secure those attributed to known artists, and, as already pointed out, No. 5 seems to have been cut out of another manuscript, inserted in this and inscribed with the legend in Mir Ja'afar Ali's hand. The third picture is a variant of the second probably by the same artist. The fourth has no attribution but its date is unquestioned and it also has the legend in Mir Ja'afar Ali's hand.

Of the historical value of the manuscript.

There is no reason to doubt the genuineness of the manuscript nor its correct dating. It was found in a place, which held earlier manuscripts of Sher Shah's reign. The script is of the period. The author is known and the history of the manuscript is clear. It is a copy made in 1653 A.D. of an original written in 1599 A.D. The author was thus almost contemporary with the events he relates and states who his informant was. He was one "Suliman Khan, who had seen the happenings with his own eyes and was one of the followers of Shuja'at Khan, who was appointed to the throne of the Governorship of Malwa by Sher Shah." He was "groom of the bed chamber in the court of Bazid Khan" (Baz Bahadur) and is expressly stated to have been present at Rup Mati's last singing before him and at the final pleasure party given by Adham Khan in Baz Bahadur's palace when he believed that Rup Mati had surrendered to his importunate lust.

To knowledge of the history of the times the manuscript makes no great valuable addition, though it may possibly throw a few welcome side-lights. Be that as it may, the only points which call for discussion by me here, are those which concern Rup Mati herself, her birth place, her caste, and the place of her death and burial.

It is true that the local Mandu legend puts down Rup Mati's birth place at Dharampuri on the Narbada and the "Bombay Subaltern" at Tandapuri on the same river. The latter place I have been unable to identify. The choice of Dharampuri is, however, merely one of local fancy. Rup Mati's chattris look down by day on the silver stretch of river by that town and by night on the lights on the temple on the island opposite to it. If her birth-place was not known, Dharampuri is the obvious choice of invention and once made all subsequent visitors to the chattris would willingly believe it to be true. Sir John Malcolm who had the earliest opportunity in recent years, on his entry into Malwa in 1818, records Rup Mati's place of birth

as Saharanpur, an obvious mis-spelling for Sarangpur and this, apart from the present manuscript, is the best evidence available. The manuscript gives the additional and valuable detail, that Sarangpur was Baz Bahadur's "Jagir" before his father's death and this fact makes possible his acquaintance with a maiden of that place. The other legends which have grown up round Rup Mati's name are natural growths. As already stated, the site of the chattris in itself suggests Dharampuri and the legend of the Goddess of the Rewa River is merely an attempt to explain the name of Rewa Kund, which attaches to the spring and pool below Baz Bahadur's palace.

A more difficult question is that of Rup Mati's origin. On the one side it has to be at once admitted that Ahmad-ul-Umari's main interest lies in the romance of his story and this may have led him to improve on fact in regard to her origin. On the other hand, it is improbable that any of the various historians, who mention her death made any real enquiry into the place of her birth or her origin. Their natural assumption would be that she was merely a dancing girl.

It must be confessed, too, that the author of the manuscript uses certain expressions, which raise doubts of the accuracy of his description of Rup Mati as a Brahman girl. Had that been so, her mother could not, as stated, have made a second marriage and certainly not with her husband's brother. Nor again, could she have become Baz Bahadur's Queen without formal conversion to Islam and the assumption of a Mohammadan name. Yet nothing is heard of either, and the author himself admits that though her father himself gave his daughter to Baz Bahadur "no marriage ceremony was performed." The use too by Rup Mati of the word "union" to describe her connection with Baz Bahadur, her coming out from behind the "purdah" to exhort him to action, the phrase in her message to Adham Khan "I have sung in his assemblies," all suggest that the story of dancing girl origin was the true one but that the writer felt her genius, her chastity and the interest of his story demanded nobler birth.

The evidence of historians is, however, inconclusive. Farishta calls Rup Mati unequivocally "a courtesan": the author of the Ma'asir-ul-Umara "a songstress," a word corresponding with the Hindi word "patur" used by Ahmad-ul-Umari, which has been translated "mistress." The Akbar-nama does not make it clear, whether she is to be included among the ladies of Baz Bahadur's seraglio or among his singing and dancing women, though the reference to her "honour" appears to imply the honour of a wife. The *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, however speaks of her expressly as "the favourite wife."

This conflict of evidence may perhaps be taken to show that the version of the text, which is to some extent a reconciliation of discrepancies is correct. Further, if the attribution to Rup Mati of the songs and verses which I have collected be held correct, it cannot be denied that their matter and form are more in accord with the authorship of an educated Brahman lady than of a

dancing girl. The version of Ahmad-ul-Umari, also derives new and unexpected support from the discovery among the Brahmans of Sarangpur of so many of her songs and verses.

The question of Rup Mati's origin must, then, still be left undecided, but all sympathetic readers will surely side with the version of the manuscript.

As regards the place of Rup Mati's death, there is no need to doubt the version of the manuscript that it took place at Mandu. The *Akbarnama* indeed, implies that it took place at Sarangpur after the battle, but the account is brief and the exact place of death was of no importance to the historian. That her tomb is at Sarangpur, there would have been no doubt but for Blochmann's statement in his edition of the *Ain-i-Akbari* that " Baz Bahadur and his Rup Mati lie buried together. Their tomb stands in the middle of a tank at Ujjain." Beveridge rightly doubts this. There is no trace or legend of any tomb at Ujjain. Nor is there a tomb at Mandu, though local tradition says Rup Mati died there. This however would be no bar to her corpse being taken to Sarangpur to the tomb, which Baz Bahadur had long prepared in his own " Jagir " for himself and her. There—in the middle of a tank—is a tomb, now ruined, obviously that of a man and woman of rank, which steady local tradition points out as the tomb of Baz Bahadur and Rup Mati. The tomb is about a mile north of the town, which lies in Dewas State (Senior Branch) on the picturesque bank of the Kali Sindh river. In a note to the " Legend of Mandoo " Captain Abbott writes: " At Sarangpur in Malwa, her tomb is preserved. We ourselves have made the pilgrimage (A.D. 1835). Senseless to female loveliness as are generally the natives of India, her matchless beauty, constancy and grace are treasured in their traditions. They fondly believe, that if any one call at that tomb 'Rup Mati' the echo renders not a repetition of her name but the name of the chosen of her heart, Baz Bahadur."

Alas! to-day the dome has fallen in and echo there is none. The epitaph on her tomb, if any, has also perished, yet it may be heard now twice over, first in the words of her historian and then in her own.

First for Ahmad-ul-Umari:

> " Lady, fear not thou the sorrows of this world. Thy trials are over. The song of thy faithfulness will warm the hearts of men till doomsday, and on the story of thy end the eyes of all lovers will ever drop a tribute of tears. O vision sublime! thy charms shall hold their lasting place to all eternity. Love is the inspirer of fidelity: it is the thread of life and the spring of comfort to the heart: it is this very love which is the name of God and is the foundation of love divine. Life issueth from love and on love is founded the rule of the world. Though we die, yet will our love abide to all eternity.

But O Mandu, Queen of cities, the sun of thy good fortune hath set. The day of thy splendour is over. To-day empty are thy palaces and dead they that dwelt therein. On the domes thereof the owl now beats his drum and joy and song have yielded place to silence everlasting. Baz Bahadur is dead! Rup Mati is no more! but, O Mogul the day of thy destruction is not far off."

And last of all Rup Mati herself

" Thy twin reflections once abode
In those delighted eyes of mine,
That now, bereft of all they love,
Unpeopled pine.
In bodies twain our soul is one:
Were mine ablaze upon the pyre,
Soul is the Monarch, though my flesh
Melt in the fire.
And e'en though soul and body both
Sink 'neath the wind-swept seas of pain,
At the mast-head love's flag defies
The hurricane.
Dry thou the petals of the rose!
More fragrant blows their scented breath!
So bloweth love, that made life sweet,
More sweet in death.

If any hearers wish for more, in a few months my translations of the Persian Manuscript and twenty-six Hindi songs will be published with an introduction, by the Clarendon Press, under the title of " The Lady of the Lotus."

The Earliest Currency Committee in India (1787).

(By J. C. Sinha, M.A.)

Historical and topical interest of the Committee.

With a Royal Commission enquiring into the condition of Indian currency, during the next few months, an account of the earliest Currency Committee in this country, may have not merely an historical but also some topical interest.

Batta on gold mohurs.

Ever since the adoption of bimetallism in Bengal in 1766, the concurrent circulation of the two metals was mainly confined to Calcutta. Even there, the gold *mohur* circulated at a varying rate of discount, depending chiefly on

cnanges in the market ratio between gold and silver. This discount was quite moderate for more than sixteen years, from 1769 to 1785. "It was not until the beginning of 1786", writes Sir John Shore in his Minute of September 29, 1796, "that the Batta, on the Gold Mohurs from its augmentation became a subject of Complaint, the Quantity of Mohurs in Calcutta, had been annually increasing, and as few passed current, beyond the limits of Calcutta, the accumulation exceeded the wants of the Inhabitants." The *batta* for exchanging *mohurs* into rupees, which was only 5 annas per Rs. 100 in March 1787, rose to Rs. 3 at the beginning of August of the same year.

Appointment of the Committee: Its terms of Reference.

On September 25, 1787, Lord Cornwallis appointed a "Committee for enquiring into the causes of the scarcity of silver coin." The terms of reference were "to ascertain the cause of the present Discount in the Exchange of Gold Mohurs into Silver" and to "propose in consequence whatever measures may appear . . . . . best calculated to obviate the inconveniences arising therefrom which are now so generally complained of."

Its Personnel.

The Committee had six members:—Herbert Harris, who was the Chairman; Richard Johnson; C. Cockerell; John Burgh; William Harding; and A. Lambert, who, it seems, was the Secretary. The majority of the members were Government officials. Herbert Harris was then the Mint Master in Calcutta; Richard Johnson was the Accountant of the Revenue Department; C. Cockerell was the Postmaster General, and William Harding was the Company's *Buxey* or Civil Paymaster. I have not been able to ascertain what post was held by Lambert. In a letter dated July 24, 1782, he had applied for permission to resign his appointment under the Company; but he must have been its servant at the time he acted as Secretary to the Committee. About two years later, he became the Chairman of the General Bank of India. Probably even then he was in the Company's service. The only member of the Committee who appears to have been a non-official was John Burgh, whose name occurs frequently in the Records in connection with his contracts for the repairs of the cantonments at Dinapore and Berhampore. In 1792, he became the Chairman of the General Bank of India. In spite of this overwhelming majority of the official members, European non-official interest was very effectively represented in the Committee. For, in those days, the Company's servants, were traders and businessmen first and government officials afterwards. Thus Johnson in his letters dated December 23, 1786 and October 12, 1787, writes as the Chairman of the General Bank of India. There are also frequent references in the Public Department Records to the active part taken in trade by Harris and other official members. Thus the Committee was as representative a body of bankers and businessmen of the time as the present Royal Commission,

except that the latter includes a professor of Economics and a few Indian businessmen and outside experts.

Expeditious investigation by the Committee.

The currency problem at the time was much less complicated than it is to-day, and the Committee finished its work in the course of two months. Its first sitting was held only two days after its formation, *viz.*, on September 27, 1787. It met once every week, except during the Pujah holidays, till November 26. It had altogether eight sittings. In presenting the report, the Committee apologised for the "scantiness of . . . . materials and the insufficiency of (its) labours." Yet the Report runs over three closely written sheets and the Proceedings consist of thirty quarto pages.

The Witnesses.

The Committee examined the *gomastahs* of five Indian firms. Three of them who were real bankers were non-Bengalees. The other two were Bengalee firms, but they were apparently mere *poddars* or money-changers. It seems that the Bengalees had no big banking houses at that time. In fact, I have not been able to trace the existence of any such house in any of the early Records of the East India Company.

1. *Mohanund.*

The oral evidence before the Committee was marked with a certain naive simplicity. Mohanund, the *gomastah* of the house of Gopaul Doss, was the first witness to be examined. He gave the following evidence:—

" *Question 1.*—What is the cause of the Batta on the exchange of Gold Mohurs into Silver?

Answer.—The demand of Silver Siccas to be sent to the Aurangs is the cause of the premium they have born (Sic).

Question 2.—To what places are Sicca Rupees sent?

Answer.—To every place where purchases are made.

Question 3.—Are not Arcot Rupees only Current at Dacca?

Answer.—Lacks of 19 Sun Sicca Rupees in Specie are sent from Calcutta to Dacca.

Question 4.—Why was there no Batta demanded on Silver last year?

Answer.—Because it was more plenty.

Question 5.—How did it happen?

Answer.—How can I tell.

Question 6.—Did you ever consider in your own mind of any cause that could possibly occasion the late scarcity?

Answer.—I never considered the subject.

Question 7.—Has not the scarcity been increased by individuals hoarding it up for the purpose of private advantage?

Answer.—The shroffs never have, I cannot answer for any other people.

Question 8.—Did you ever buy or sell any silver Rupees?

Answer.—I never did. I only deal on Bills of Exchange.

Question 9.—Who are the people that deal in Silver?

Answer.—The Bangally Bazaar Shroffs or money Changers by retail."

2. *Nemy Churn.*

The next witness examined was Nemy Churn, *Gomastah* of Seboram Paul. He represented the "Bangally Bazaar Shroffs" and naturally enough, tried to lay the blame for the *batta* at the door of bigger Shroffs. But the evidence tendered by him did not carry conviction as he made a number of contradictory statements. For instance, he ascribed the *Batta* to the stoppage of issue of new coins, but could not say if any silver was tendered for coinage. Then followed a number of interesting answers to the usual questions of the Committee:—

Question.—Why is silver scarcer this year than the last?

Answer.—Because it was more plenty the last year, I am but a retailer, I buy from the larger Houses.

Question.—Who are those larger Houses that you buy from?

Answer.—Gopaul Doss, Nunderam and Bydenaut, Sambroonaut, Arjungee Nalgee.

Question.—How do they obtain the silver Rupees?

Answer.—I do not know.

He ascribed the scarcity of silver to its limited supply. About the hoarding of silver he confessed ignorance, but added emphatically, "All that I know is we do not get it (*i.e.*, silver) and upon that raise our demand." To the question, "Can silver always be had by paying a premium for it," he gave the evasive answer, "I buy only 3 or 400 at a time. How can I tell."

3. *Ramjeeroum.*

The third witness Ramjeeroum gave evidence on behalf of the firm of Nunderam and Bydenaut. In his opinion, scarcity was caused both by restriction in the supply of silver and by increase in the demand from *aurangs*. He could not assign any reason why *batta* had not been demanded last year, for, as he said, his main business was in bills of exchange "for the remittance of the Collections of Revenue." He only bought and sold silver rupees occasionally "as necessary for exchange." About hoarding, he was ignorant,

and he confessed that he had never before thought about the causes of the scarcity of silver. But his answer was prompt and incisive—"It depends upon Heaven and the King."

Evidence inconclusive.

The evidence of the remaining two witnesses, Hurrypersaud, the *gomastah* of Budge Bullol Doss and Conoy Seal, *gomastah* of Nillember Seal is to the same effect. The unsatisfactory character of the evidence is apparent. The Committee sought for a simple explanation of the scarcity of silver by suggesting to the witnesses that it was due to the practice of hoarding. But the *gomastahs*, true to their salt, stoutly denied any such practice. Their evidence is practically of a negative character. It throws no light on the real problem.

Two aspects: 1. Depreciation of gold.

The Committee discussed the question before it from two apparently different standpoints. At first it analysed the causes of the depreciation of *mohurs*. The gold *mohur* in Bengal, remarked the Committee, with a value of about 36 shillings was of too high a denomination to circulate to any considerable extent outside Calcutta. It was true that it passed current in the cities of Dacca, Murshidabad, Patna and Benares, but the total amount circulating in all these parts was not even one-fourth of what was in circulation in Calcutta. "This accumulation of any Specie in one place," the Committee continued, "must cause great plenty of that article. This plenty whatever extent it has in itself, is, as it were, increased by the paper which is in circulation at the Presidency."* "One crore and a half of certificates, besides Bank Notes and other Paper now used here, as also, one and a half Crore of Bonds must occupy a space in the Circulation of the Town, which, by precluding in so far the call for Gold, will have the same effect as an increase of its quantity and of course to diminish its value." Here we find a statement of the Quantity Theory, although in somewhat imperfect language.

2. Appreciation of silver.

The Committee then proceeded to discuss the question of "the enhancement of Silver and its possible Cause from the fictitious or real scarcity of it"—as if the discount on the *mohur* and the premium on the rupee were not one and the same thing. The scarcity of silver was, in the opinion of the Committee, due to the following permanent cause, *viz.*, the reduced import of silver since 1757 and its increased export to the other Presidencies and to China. This was a factor which would alter permanently the ratio between gold and silver in Bengal, but it could not explain the sudden increase in the

* Paper had at that time very little circulation in the mofussil. Thus it competed with metallic currency only at the Presidency, which, as stated above, consisted mainly of gold.

batta on *mohurs* in 1787. The Committee ascribed this to the wider use of bills for the remittance of revenue to Calcutta, and to the drain of silver to the *Aurangs* for investment. But "one cause (and perhaps not the least of those already adduced) of the diminution of Silver Coin in Calcutta," observed the Committee, "appears to be the too high Value of the Gold Coin compared with that of Silver."

Recommendations.

On the basis of the above findings, the Committee made the following chief recommendations :—

1. "To receive all the Rupees that come into the hands of Government throughout the country, milling and subdividing them into halves and quarters, adding an alloy equal to the English Standard[1] for Silver Coin."
2. "To wave (sic.) the duty upon coinage for Individuals."
3. "To let the Gold Mohurs in like manner be milled and sub-divided into halves, quarters and Eighths increasing the size of the sub-division beyond that now known without altering the present Standard."
4. "To inflict such punishment upon Shroffs who shall be convicted of giving anything less than sixteen new milled Rupees for a new milled Gold Mohur."
5. To adjust the value of gold and silver coins "to the natural values" they bore to one another in India.[2]

Cockerell's Minute of Dissent.

To the Report of the Committee, Cockerell appended a note of dissent setting forth the following points :—

(*i*) "That the batta upon silver was almost entirely caused by the increased amount of Revenue Remittance Bills; and

(*ii*) "By the sudden and prodigious influx of Bank notes, adding that the General Bank by taking security for their loans set a bad example to the Natives, thereby injuring the public credit;

(*iii*) "That the Investment being made later in /87 than /86 and the consequent issues of Certificates was not the cause of the batta."

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[1] The English Standard for silver was then, as it is now, 92·5 fine, while the siccas were at time 98 fine.

[2] This proposal does not occur in the main body of the recommendations but was suggested in a note appended to the Report. The Committee was not very enthusiastic over this measure. It would, in its opinion "tend as a temporary relief to the evil complained of."

Remarks made by the Committee.

To this the majority of the members replied that so far as the first point in Cockerell's note was concerned, they were "all agreed in as the principal cause and the Third was never asserted at all." With regard to the second point they argued that the average of bank notes in circulation was only 12 lacs and it "never could cause a scarcity in one particular specie exclusively. In England where the extent of the Bank Notes in Circulation has been immense, nobody thought of attributing any temporary scarcity of Silver to it." The method of granting loans by the Bank, the majority of the members contended, was neither peculiar nor did it suggest "any example to the Natives detrimental to the Public Credit. Nor has a similar mode in other Banks ever been prejudicial to Credit."

Report is of interest to Economists.

It is not possible to discuss in greater detail many other interesting points of this Report within the time limit allotted to this paper. One important fact which I have mentioned elsewhere* may here be repeated. There is a reference to Adam Smith's Wealth of Nations in this Report, and from the discussions that have been recorded, it is clear that the members of the Committee were quite familiar with the economic doctrines then current in England. I have already referred to the statement of the Quantity Theory of Money given in the Report. There is also a most interesting discussion on the incidence of the salt tax in Bengal. The Report is of considerable interest to students of Economics. Though its value has been impaired by the lapse of one hundred and thirty-eight years, the main problem that faces the present Royal Commission is similar to what was discussed by the Currency Committee of 1787. The Committee recommended the maintenance of the old ratio between the gold coin and the silver rupee, by increasing the quantity of alloy in the rupee—a measure suggested by Sir Dadiba Dalal in his Minority Report to the Babington Smith Committee of 1919. Like the Currency Committee of 1787, the present Royal Commission will have to determine the rate of exchange between the gold sovereign and the silver rupee, and to remove the disparity between their official and market rates.

Company's servants not mere adventurers.

Students of Public Administration in British India also may read the Report of 1787 with profit. It shows that the method of investigation by committees was exactly the same in the early British rule as it is to-day. The Currency Committee of 1787 had its Chairman and Secretary, framed its questionnaire, examined witnesses, called for memoranda† and had even a

* In an article on "Economic Theorists Among the Servants of John Company", Economic Journal (London), March, 1925.

† *e.g.*, from the Treasury, General Bank of India, Bengal Insurance Company, etc.

minute of dissent. The common view about the early British officers in this country is that they were a race of unlettered adventurers who came here simply to shake the Indian Pagoda Tree. The Report of 1787 shows that such sweeping generalisation is hardly fair. Some of the servants of John Company even in those early days studied the writings of the leading English economists of the time and applied their theories to the solution of the economic problems of this country. This is no less creditable than the spectacular achievements of the early builders of the Indian Empire.

Lutf-un-Nisa

(Begam of Nawab Siraj-ud-Daula.)

(By Brajendra Nath Banerji.)

If woman's life-long devotion can redeem the memory of wicked man, such will be the fate of Siraj-ud-Daula, the notorious Nawab of Bengal. His tragic life, so full of blood and tears—his own and his victims',—was bound up with that of a most faithful wife, whose history supplies one more illustration of the poet's words that " beauty and anguish walk hand in hand."

Lutf-un-Nisa first entered the household of the mother of Siraj-ud-Daula as a slave-girl. By birth she was a Hindu, as her name Raj Kunwar indicates. The youthful beauty and accomplishments of this maiden conquered the heart of young Siraj. His mother gave her up to him, and he dignified her with the title of Lutf-un-Nisa Begam and had a daughter by her[1]. She returned the love of Siraj, and was always faithful to him. She was her husband's partner in weal and woe alike, and in influence over his life she completely overshadowed his legitimate wife, Umdat-un-Nisa (Bahu Begam)[2], the daughter of Muhammad Irij Khan.

Siraj's father, Zain-ud-Din Ahmad (Haibat Jang), the Governor of Bihar, was murdered by the Afghans in the early part of 1748. Nawab Aliwardi, Siraj's grandfather, nominally appointed the youth to his father's place but vested the actual authority in Rajah Janakiram, his deputy. Incited by Mehdi-nisar Khan, and other evil associates, Siraj resolved to take possession of Patna and to declare his independence. He set out for that city in company with Lutf-un-Nisa and her mother in a covered carriage drawn by a pair of excellent oxen of amazing size and bulk, which could usually go 60 to 80 miles a day. On his arrival near Patna in the month of June 1750 he called

[1] Statement of the surviving members of the family and dependents of the late Siraj-ud-Daula (25th July 1794).—*Public Con.* 28th July 1794, No. 18. According to *Mutaqherin* text, i. 182 also Lutf-un-Nisa was originally a *jāriya* (bond-maid).

[2] Umdat-un-Nisa Bahu Begam was married to Siraj in the rainy season of 1159 H. (*c.* Aug. 1746)—*Mutaqherin* text, i. 104. She had no children, and died on 10th November 1793 (5 Rabi-us-sani, 1208). See *Public Proceedings*, 24th January 1794, No. 22.

upon the Rajah to deliver up the city. But Janakiram, in the absence of any orders from Nawab Aliwardi, refused to do so. Siraj thereupon assaulted the town, but was ultimately defeated and forced to take refuge in the suburbs. News very soon reached Nawab Aliwardi, who was then engaged with the Marathas, and he came to Patna in hot haste. He received his grandson with the greatest affection, instead of reproaches, and took him back to Murshidabad.[1]

At the battle of Plassey (23rd June 1757), Siraj-ud-Daula was betrayed by his general and kinsman, Mir Jafar, who owed his fortunes to Nawab Aliwardi's generosity[2]. It was his treachery that brought about the total rout of the unfortunate Nawab who, seeing that all was lost, retired from the field to the Mansurganj Palace at Murshidabad. Fortune turned her back on him, and mankind did the same. Even Muhammad Irij Khan, his father-in-law, refused to stand by him in his adversity. Siraj resolved to escape alone. Lutf-un-Nisa fell at his feet and begged him to let her accompany him. Siraj tried to convince her that his flight was merely temporary and that he meant to come back very soon with a strong force to recover his kingdom, but Lutf-un-Nisa could not be persuaded to desist from her purpose.

At dead of night on 25th June Siraj loaded his jewels and a large sum of money upon some elephants, and accompanied by Lutf-un-Nisa and her young daughter in covered carriages, hastened to Bhagwangola. He was travelling in disguise, like a miserable fugitive, his object being to proceed to Patna, where he hoped once more to raise an army. The heat of the day grew intense. Lutf-un-Nisa took every care to mitigate the exhaustion of her husband, and fanned him continually with her handkerchief. At Bhagwangola Siraj and his family embarked in boats, but they were obliged to stop at Bahral, a village 4 miles from Rajmahal, on the other side of the Ganges, as the Nazirpur mouth of the river was not found navigable.

Siraj and his family had gone without food for three days and nights; at Bahral he disembarked and went to the neighbouring mausoleum of a *faqir* named Dana Shah in search of food. The richness of the stranger's slippers aroused the suspicion of the people at the tomb, and they found out who he was from the boatmen. Prompted by the hope of high rewards, they sent secret information to Mir Qasim, the son-in-law of Mir Jafar, who had come to the neighbourhood with an army, in search of the fugitive Nawab. Siraj was captured with his family and jewels. The fallen prince entreated for his life, but his abject humility only served to call forth the taunts and reproaches of men, to whom, but a few days before, he would have disdained to speak. "Mir Qasim Khan, who had got Lutf-un-Nisa in his power, engaged her, partly by threats, and partly by promises, to disclose where her casket of

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[1] *Mutaqherin*, ii. 94.

[2] Mir Jafar had married Shah Khanum, the half-sister of Nawab Aliwardi and mother of Sadiq Ali Khan (Miran).

jewels was; and this casket, the value of which could not be computed but by lakhs, fell in his hands of course[1].

Mir Jafar was holding secret counsel with Clive, when the news of the capture of Siraj-ud-Daula reached him. He heaved a sigh of relief, and immediately sent his son, Miran, to bring the prisoner to the city. Eight days after he had quitted it, Siraj was brought back to Murshidabad at about midnight like a common felon, and stood in the presence of Mir Jafar in the very palace where he had once ruled as the absolute master of millions.

It was thought dangerous to grant him his life. Miran was secretly instructed to place the Nawab in confinement at Jafaraganj and there put him to death. The task which many rejected with indignation, was at last accepted by Muhammad Beg, a wretch nourished from his infancy on the favours of Aliwardi's family.

The end of Siraj-ud-Daula as described by his contemporary Ghulam Husain (*Mutaqherin*, ii. 242) was tragic in the extreme.

It was night. As soon as Muhammad Beg entered the prison, Siraj started up in alarm and asked "Have you come to kill me?" The murderer said "Yes." Then the captive gave himself up to despair and prepared for his end by kneeling down and praying to Allah "the gracious and the compassionating" for the pardon of his sins. Turning to Muhammad Beg again, he said in a broken voice, "So, my enemies will not leave me to retire into some corner and pass the rest of my days on a petty allowance . . . . I see that I must die and thus atone for Husain Quli's blood which I have shed." His speech was cut short by Muhammad Beg suddenly striking him down with his sabre. As the fallen ruler of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa writhed on the ground, the butcher kept on slashing at him, and Siraj's face, so famous throughout the country for its youthful beauty and sweetness, was terribly mangled. "Enough—that is enough—I am done for—Husain Quli! thou art avenged," these were the last words of Siraj. Then his voice was stilled for ever in a pool of blood in that dark dungeon of Murshidabad[2].

Hated and despised by all though he was, Siraj-ud-Daula had one faithful mourner in Lutf-un-Nisa. She, with her infant daughter of four years, was banished to Dacca by Mir Jafar sometime in December 1758, along with the other ladies of the late Nawab's Court,[3] where they were kept in confinement for some seven years; even the slender allowance which was ordered for them was not paid regularly. Their hardships and distress in the matter of food and other necessaries of life, rendered their lives extremely miserable. Their small allowance began to be paid regularly month by month, only when

[1] *Mutaqherin*, ii. 240.

[2] According to the *Muzaffar-nama* Siraj-ud-Daula was born in 1140 H. (=Aug. 1727—July 1728) and ascended the *masnad* in 1169 H. (Oct. 1755—Sep. 1756). He was therefore 29 or 30 years of age at his death.

[3] *Mutaquerin*, ii. 281.

Muin-ud-Daula Muzaffar Jang (Muhammad Riza Khan) came to Dacca. It was through the courtesy and kindness of Lord Clive, the Governor of Bengal, that they were released from the prison and sent back to Murshidabad.

A virtuous woman, loving and tender, Lutf-un-Nisa ever cherished the memory of her lord and rejected with scorn several proposals of marriage after the death of her husband and, on one occasion, her reply to her suitor was that a person accustomed to ride an elephant, could not stoop to ride a donkey. (*Muzaffar-nama*, p. 106). She was placed in charge of the Khush Bagh cemetery, on the right bank of the Bhagirathi, opposite Moti Jhil at Murshidabad.[1] Nawab Aliwardi and his favourite grandson, Siraj-ud-Daula, lie here side by side. Lutf-un-Nisa used to receive Rs. 305 per month for maintaining the charity-kitchen (*langar-khana*) and other expenses connected with their graves[2].

On their arrival at Murshidabad the Begams submitted an *arzi* (in December 1765) thanking the English Government for their release and begging to be granted a subsistence allowance for the rest of their lives. This document bears the seals, among others', of Sharf-un-Nisa, wife of Nawab Aliwardi Khan, Lutf-un-Nisa and her daughter[3].

Evidently no action was taken on their petition and we find Lutf-un-Nisa again addressing the Governor General in March 1787 :—

> "Since the death of Nawab Siraj-ud-Daula and the plunder of the goods and effects of all his relations and specially of myself, I have been tossed about by the waves of oppression and cruelty in the sea of grief and sorrow. I refrain from recapitulating my tale of woe as it can only increase my sorrow, and afflict the hearer. I come, therefore, direct to the point and beg to submit that on the death of the late Nawab Siraj-ud-Daula, Mir Muhammad Jafar Ali Khan sent me to Jahangirnagar [Dacca] and fixed on me an allowance of Rs. 600. When the Company assumed the direct control of the country I came back from Jahangirnagar. Some time after, my daughter died and then the said sum of Rs. 600 was distributed in this way that her four daughters (my

[1] Holwell, with his usual inaccuracy, says that Lutf-un-Nisa and her young daughter were drowned along with Ghasiti and other Begams!—*An Address to the Proprietors of East India Stock*, etc., p. 47.

[2] "I beg to invite your attention to the fact that the grant of Rs. 305 a month sanctioned for the maintenance of the *qazis* [readers of the Quran], the *langar*, etc., at the tombs of the late Nawab Mahabat Jang and his mother has not been paid in full since Baisakh 1195 (April 1788)".—Lutf-un-nisa to the Governor General. Received on 23 September 1789.

"This cemetery was first endowed by Aliwardi Khan, who allotted Rs. 305 monthly, from the collections of the villages of Bandárdeh and Nawabganj, to defray the expenses of keeping the place in order."—*Imperial Gazetteer of India*, W. W. Hunter, vol. vi., see *Murshidabad*.

[3] *Calendar of Persian Correspondence*, i. 452, Letter No. 2761, received by the Governor General on 10th December 1765.

grand-daughters) received Rs. 500 among them and Rs. 100 was allotted to my share. As most of my attendants and maidservants have been in my service since the days of the late Nawab, I am unable to dismiss them now, for the name and the honour of the deceased must be maintained. And besides them there are the male servants indispensably necessary for the upkeep of a degree of dignity among the people. But I have no *jagir* nor any such resource as might enable me to meet these expenses, and whatever goods and effects I possessed were plundered after the death of the Nawab. Of the four grand-daughters two are married and their expenditure has therefore increased. The other two are unmarried, which means that the heavy burden of their wedding has yet to be lifted up, and this is beyond my present capacity and means. It is a time-honoured rule, and the cause of justice also demands it—that if ever a chief is found guilty of an offence his wife and children are not held responsible for it in any way. The same has been the practice with the Company with regard to every chief found guilty of unfair and improper conduct, that is the offender has been punished for his misdeeds, while a pension has been fixed for the maintenance of his children and dependents. But my case has been treated as an exception to the rule and I have received no pensions till the present moment by which I could pass my days with some semblance of comfort. I am addressing this petition to you because a kinder, juster, and more generous ruler never came to this land before and pray that you will kindly grant me a pension to enable me to pass the rest of my days in honour and dignity."[1]

But it appears that this petition, like the first one, was rejected, and she had to rest content with the allowance of Rs. 100 for herself and Rs. 500 for her grand-daughters from the *chakla* of Dacca[2].

A devoted wife, Lutf-un-Nisa frequented the tomb of her husband and for many years employed Muhammadan priests (*mullahs*) to say prayers there[3]. She would often strew flowers on the earth covering his last remains and, it is said, she breathed her last in November 1790 while in the act of adoration at his grave.[4] She survived her husband for 34 years, and lies buried by his

[1] *Original Receipts* 1787, No. 176. Lutf-un-Nisa had some property at Patna. In an *arzi*, received by the Governor General on 22nd February 1790, she mentions the masjid, Madrasa, and house built by the deceased Nawab Haibat Jang in the city of Patna to which the right was established by the evidence of the inhabitants there.—*Vol. of Eng. Transl. of Pers. Letters Received* 1790.

[2] Mir Asad Ali Khan married the only daughter of Lutf-un-Nisa, who died during the lifetime of her mother, and left behind him four daughters, *viz.*, Sharf-un-Nisa, Asmat-un-Nisa, Sakina, and Amat-ul-mahdi Begams.

[3] *Journey from Bengal to England*, Geo. Forster (1798), i. 12. Letter dated 31st August 1782.

[4] "After compliments we beg to report that our grandmother, Lutf-un-Nisa Begam has died."—Grand-daughters of Nawab Siraj-ud-Daula to the Governor General,—received 24th November 1790. *Original Receipts* 1790, No. 328.

side, in the Khush Bagh ('the Garden of Happiness'), which is still extant and proclaims the unshaken fidelity of Lutf-un-Nisa.[1]

APPENDIX

Statement of the surviving members of the family and dependents of the late Siraj-ud-Daula[2].

* * * * * * *

Raj Kunwar was the name of a slave-girl belonging to the mother of Siraj-ud-Daula. The latter taking a liking to Raj Kunwar, his mother gave her up to him. He dignified her with the name of Lutf-un-Nisa Begam and by her had a daughter who married Asad Ali Khan. Four daughters were the issue of this union—of them, one is married to Sayyid Ahmad Khan (son of Sher Jang), another to a relation of his named Mirza Muhammad Husain, the third to Agha Muhammad Ali Khan, and the fourth to Wajid Ali Khan, deceased. These daughters have for their maintenance, an allowance that is paid nominally for the support of Haibat Jang (Siraj's father), the produce of a Ganj called Mehdi-ganj and of a mosque, an allowance for the tomb of Aliwardi Khan, and other resources in the Patna province, the aggregate amount of which I have not hitherto been able to ascertain, though I am informed it is not less than Rs. 20,000 per annum,—an amount, however, that probably exceeds the truth. Lutf-un-Nisa Begam the [grand-] mother of the abovementioned daughters has been long since dead.

(*Public Con.* 28th July 1794, No. 18.)

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[1] After the death of Lutf-un-Nisa her grand-daughters petitioned to the Governor General (received on 11th May 1791):—

"After compliments we beg to submit that vouchers for the sum of Rs. 1,000 a year which is collected from the zamindari of Begampurah, and for the sum of Rs. 305 a month which is granted for the maintenance of *langar* and other expenses in connection with the tombs of Nawab Mahabat Jang, Nawab Siraj-ud-Daula and others, used to be issued under the seal of our father Mir Asad Ali Khan so long as he lived. After him they were issued under the seal of our mother and when she died, we being minors, our grand-mother, the late Lutf-un-Nisa Begam used her own seal for the vouchers. On her death we applied for permission to issue vouchers under our own seals, but as yet we have received no reply . . . ."—*Original Receipts* 1791, No. 194.

The Governor General replied on 1st June 1791 as follows:—

"In reply to your petition for the restoration of certain stipends and allowances I have to inform you that they have been restored as desired. Moreover the allowance of Rs. 100 which Lutf-un-Nisa Begam used to draw shall henceforth be paid to you. All four of you should divide the sum equally among yourselves . . . ."—*Copy of Issues,* January 1791 to July 1792, Vol. No. 24, pp. 86-87.

[2] This statement appears to have been compiled by the Paymaster of Nizamat Stipends, Sir John Harington, and is dated 25th July 1794.

Armenians and the East India Company.

(By Mesrovb J. Seth, M.R.A.S.)

"This people (the Armenians) have attained riches without usury"—'BYRON.'

There was once a famous city in Armenia, the inhabitants of which were so rich, prosperous and devout, that they had built a thousand and one churches for the worship of the true God in their own way. This beautiful city was called ANI and it was the capital of the famous Bagratoonee (Bagratidae) kings whose glorious rule over Armenia lasted from 859—1079 A.D.

This world-renowned city which was the envy of the Greeks and of the Saracens owing to its great wealth, beauty and magnificence, to say nothing of its impregnability, fell, after many vicissitudes never to rise again, before the hordes of the notorious Chengiz Khan who completed its ruin in 1238 A.D. when the invaders—those human monsters from Central Asia—entered the city after a good deal of resistance, and with a knife in either hand and a third one between their teeth, made the streets of Ani simply run with blood, and the river Akhoorean, which flows by the city, became red with the blood of the helpless citizens whose only crime was that they were *Christians*.

And a city that could be proud of a thousand and one places of divine worship, must naturally have had a very large population and which the ruthless invaders could not possibly have annihilated or exterminated entirely, for there were many who succeeded in miraculously extricating themselves from the jaws of death and escaping the fire and the sword of the savage Tartars.

These refugees fled on all sides, some went to the Crimea, others to Poland and Hungary, whilst a good many of the well-to-do citizens succeeded in reaching the hospitable banks of the Aras, a great river in South Armenia, where they built themselves a nice city, which in the course of a very short time became, if not a second Ani, yet the *premier* city in Armenia by reason of its commercial importance, and the name of this place was JULFA.

Here the refugees from Ani prospered and flourished through their commercial activities, for they carried on an extensive trade between India and Europe by the overland route through Persia. But as history must repeat itself always, the peaceful and the prosperous Armenians of JULFA were evidently not destined to have peace there either, for after a fairly long period of prosperity, during which time they had amassed considerable wealth, they were suddenly called upon to share the sad fate of their helpless ancestors. But this time the thunderbolt fell upon them not from Central Asia, as in 1238 A.D. but from the immediate South, for one fine morning Shah Abbas the Great of Persia, appeared before the gates of the

city with a vast army, (as he was fighting the Turks at that time) and grossly abusing the unexampled hospitality of the wealthy citizens who had accorded him a right royal welcome and thereby unwittingly excited his cupidity and avarice, he forthwith issued a stern mandate ordering *all* the inhabitants of that populous and prosperous Armenian city to leave their homes, on pain of death, and migrate to Persia within *three* days.

This terrible and blood-curdling tragedy which is faithfully chronicled by an eye-witness (Arakiel Vardapiet of Tabriz in Persia) was enacted in the year 1605 A.D. when the helpless inhabitants of JULFA, young and old, rich and poor, were actually driven out of their homes by their inhuman executioners and forced to cross the river Aras the best way they could, as the dilapidated bridge across the said river had just then collapsed owing to the heavy floods. With tears and lamentations that would have melted the hardest rocks, the helpless Armenians of JULFA abandoned their beautiful homes and their numerous churches and after untold hardships, 12,000 families, who had escaped the fury of the formidable and violent Aras and the rigours of the terrible and long journey across Persia, reached Ispahan, the then capital of Persia.

Here every kindness and hospitality was shown to them by that crafty Persian monarch, Shah Abbas the Great, and they soon built themselves a nice little city with 24 churches and a beautiful cathedral on the banks of the Zenderood, which flows by Ispahan, and they called it NEW JULFA in everlasting memory of their former home on the Aras, which it may be mentioned, had been consigned to the flames by the soldiery of Shah Abbas after the inhabitants had been driven out, so that they may for ever abandon the idea of ever returning there.

Prosperity which happily had never deserted them since their ancestors fled from ANI, followed them from the *old* to the *new* JULFA and they soon became the cynosure of all eyes and the envy of the indolent Persians by reason of their great wealth and affluence, thanks to their commercial genius and natural aptitude for trade and commerce. In this connection it may be mentioned that that shrewd monarch Shah Abbas, who evidently was a strong advocate of political economy, granted to his new subjects, the Armenians, all sorts of indulgences and privileges, social, religious and commercial, with a view to foster and to promote the trade and the commerce of his country, since his own subjects, the indolent Persians, by reason of their exclusiveness due in a great measure to religious fanaticism, were very backward in international commerce, as they would never go abroad, whereas the enterprising and the go-ahead industrious Armenians penetrated every corner of the globe in quest of commercial gain.

As has been stated above, the Armenians of JULFA on the Aras traded extensively with India and Europe, and no sooner they had settled down at New JULFA, near Ispahan, that they continued to carry on their former trade, as

if nothing unusual had happened, and commenced once more pouring Indian wares and commodities into the European markets and *vice versâ*, whereby they were able in a very short time to amass considerable wealth to the great joy and gratification of their royal patron, Shah Abbas, justly called the Great.

Amongst the many Armenian merchants of JULFA who traded with India during the XVII century, the name of Khojah Phanoos Kalandar stands pre-eminent. for it was he, who as the leading Armenian merchant in India came under the notice of the Honourable East India Company during the latter end of the XVII century when the British trade was still in its infancy in India.

But before proceeding with the interesting history of the British relations with the Armenians in India, it will be necessary to make a digression and review the early connection of the Armenians with India long before the advent of the English or other European nations into the country.

It may not be generally known that the Armenians—sons of a noble but ill-fated fatherland—whose love of commerce has been proverbial, have, from time immemorial, traded with India, whither they were allured from their distant homes in the snow-clad mountains of Armenia, by the glamour of the lucrative trade in spices, muslins and precious stones which they carried on successfully with Europe long before the advent of any European traders, adventurers and interlopers into the country.

They were the principal foreign traders in India and carried on an extensive trade with Europe through the Persian Gulf, as also through the Gulf of Arabia, and the Portuguese, who were the first Europeans to exploit the trade of the country, tried to strangle by violence, as was their wont, the Armenian trade at the mouth of the two Gulfs but without any success, and what they failed to do by open violence and high-handedness, the cool-headed and the ever diplomatic English achieved by stratagem and non-violence.

The English merchants on their arrival in India in the early part of the XVII century, saw with grave concern that the Armenians—the pioneers of the foreign trade of India—were well established in the country and were carrying on an extensive, important and rather a lucrative export trade with Egypt, the Levant, Turkey and the Mediterranean ports, principally with Venice and Leghorn, through the Persian and the Arabian Gulfs, in Arab sailing vessels, for as is well known, the Arabs were great navigators in those days and their ships known as "buggalows," crossed the vast Indian Ocean and called at Sumatra, Java, the Phillipines and as far as China, and it was through these very Arab ships that the religion of the prophet of Arabia penetrated into Malaya, Sumatra and far-off Java. The goods that were shipped by the Armenians to the Persian Gulf ports were sent from thence overland through Persia and Turkey in Asia and thence to Europe, *viâ*

Trebizond and Alexandretta (otherwise known as Iskanderon) whilst those that were shipped to the Arabian Gulf were likewise exported to Europe through Egypt. In this connection it may be mentioned that the Cape route was not known then, as it came into prominence only when Vasco-de-Gama, the pioneer of European adventurers, found his way to India in 1498, although Columbus had set out with the same objective six years before, but had discovered America instead, so that it can be safely asserted that it was the glamour of India, which in the hoary past had loomed large in the expeditions of a Semiramis and an Alexander, that led to the discovery of the New World which has played such an important part in the politics, civilisation, culture and the material advancement of the old world. And yet by an irony of fate and a perverse destiny, that great and illustrious Spanish navigator, who in his futile attempt to reach the shores of India, had, by a mere chance found an unknown Continent, equally rich, was treated ignominiously by his unappreciative and unpatriotic countrymen steeped in ignorance and bigotry, but then was not the immortal Galileo treated similarly? But I have digressed.

The English as is well known, had come by the Cape route to capture the trade of the Country, not by violence however, like their predecessors the Portuguese, but by peaceful penetration, so instead of being hostile and antagonistic towards the Armenian traders who were well established in the country and were at the same time great favourites at the Courts of the Moghul Emperors and their Viceroys, they saw the advisability, nay the absolute necessity of cultivating their friendship. The English merchants knew that by securing the collaboration and the help of the Armenians, they could thereby secure a footing in the country and it was to their advantage therefore to fraternise with them, with an ulterior motive of course, as later events will clearly show. They perceived that the Armenians, by reason of their old connection with the country, and their thorough knowledge of the different vernaculars and of the ways, the manners, the habits and the modes of thinking of the different races that inhabited India, could prove a veritable thorn on their side if they were not respected and treated gently, for only the astute sons of Albion know how to treat, nay handle, an Asiatic and their highly successful administration of this vast and rich country (India) with its millions of diverse races and creeds for the past 200 years is an eloquent proof of their being adept students of human nature.

And in order to avoid competition and rivalry with its concomitant evil effects, it was necessary therefore to gain the Armenians on their side as a valuable asset by peaceful methods of course, and they hit upon the right plan to achieve that end, and needless to add, they suceeded *par excellence*. The practical and the shrewd Britishers saw that the only superiority that they had over the Armenians in India was in their shipping, by reason of their being a purely maritime nation, and in virtue of that indisputable

power, they soon set about to promulgate a scheme for alluring the unsuspecting Armenian traders into their net, and to their credit be it said, they succeeded *par excellence* as will be seen shortly.

The importance and the extensiveness of the Armenian trade with Europe was naturally detrimental to their interests, but how could they possibly impede or obstruct the same, as they were not in a position to oust them by violence, for they were only a handful of merchants and had no military power at their back like their predecessors the Portuguese.

And even if they had the requisite military strength to turn all the Armenians out of the country, they would not have attempted to run such a great risk for fear of bringing on their heads the just wrath of the mighty Moguls with whom the Armenians were great favourites, as is well known. In the circumstances they could not afford to jeopardise their position by being hostile and in any way antagonistic towards the Armenians who enjoyed the patronage, the protection and the friendship of the Mogul Emperors and their Viceroys and Governors all over India from the days of the great Akbar downwards. And where open violence would have failed, and failed ignominiously, diplomacy succeeded *par excellence*, thanks to the consummate skill of the few cool-headed but crafty gentlemen who presided over the destinies of the old East India Company, otherwise known as the "Company of the Merchants of London trading to the East Indies" which as every student of Indian History knows, was inaugurated on the 31st day of December 1599, during the reign of that truly great queen, Elizabeth.

As stated above, the English hit upon the right plan, for we find the "Company of London Merchants," after mature deliberations, making overt overtures to the Armenian merchants of India in 1688, through their illustrious leader, the famous Khojah Phanoos Kalandar, who happened to be in London at that time with his nephew, the well known Khoja Israel Sarhad, the future merchant—diplomat of India, to enter into an agreement with them to divert their extensive trade with Europe from the old channel into the new one round the Cape, *exclusively* through British shipping.

The bait took and the unsuspecting and ever-confiding Armenians fell into the snare, for *a clevery-worded Treaty was* immediately *drawn up* between Khojah Phanoos Kalandar, representing the Armenian nation, and the Governor and the Company of London Merchants trading to the East Indies, and it was signed, sealed and delivered on the 28th day of June in the year 1688. Needless to add that the specious Treaty, or Charter, as it was called, in which British acumen is vividly shown, proved the *death knell* to the extensive and important Armenian trade in India, as future events clearly showed.

The benefits that would accrue to the Armenian nation under that memorable Treaty, seemed very alluring on *paper* of course, as the Armenians were to participate then and at all times in *all* the advantages that the Company

granted to any of their own or other English merchants with respect to trade or otherwise within the Company's Charter. Great privileges were likewise allowed them for carrying their persons and their merchandise to and from Europe in the Company's ships. They were also allowed to reside and trade freely in the Company's towns and garrisons where they could hold *all* civil offices and employments, equally with the English. They were further allowed the free exercise of their own religion and the worship of God in their own way, and as a further inducement, the English stipulated to give the Armenians ground for a church, to be first built at the expense of the Company wherever forty or more of the Armenian nation became inhabitants of any of the Company's towns or garrisons.

The benevolent and the ever-altruistic English even stipulated that they would not continue in their service any Governor who should in any way disturb or discountenance them (the Armenians) in the full enjoyment of their trade and privileges, which clearly shows that they were mortally afraid to offend them in any way, lest they should lose their esteemed friendship and valued collaboration in the furtherance of their cause in the country. But later events proved conclusively the truth of the German Emperor's pithy remark that a treaty was nothing but simply "a scrap of paper."

The specious terms of the Treaty, or better still the Death Warrant of the Armenian trade in India had the desired effect, as they resorted in large numbers from other places in India to the Company's Settlements where they established themselves, built churches, most of which exist to this date, and carried on their usual trade with Europe.

Being the leading merchants in Asia, they contributed considerably to the increase of trade in the respective Settlements where they resided, and thereby added to the population thereto. They were of the greatest service to the Company's Agents and Factors in the disposal of their goods from England, as also in providing them with Indian merchandise for export to England. This is clearly seen in a communication from the Court of Directors to their Governor in India, under date the 13th September 1695 in which it is distinctly stated that " Multan and Scindy are brave provinces for many sorts of extraordinary good and cheap commodities; but whenever the Company shall be induced to settle Factories in those provinces, or any other way think to arrive at trade with them, otherwise than by *Armenians*, they would infallibly come off with great loss."

And with the gradual growth and expansion of the English trade in the country, it was deemed absolutely necessary to obtain further privileges from the Delhi Court, but how was that to be secured? Thanks to British acumen and resourcefulness, the valuable, nay indispensable, services of an Armenian were requisitioned and through him the historical and all-important " Grand Farman " which proved to be the

"Magna Charta" of the English in India, was obtained from the Mogul Emperor Farrukh Siyar in 1717, of which more hereafter.

But before proceeding any further with the history of the cordial relations of the Armenians in India with their *confereres* the English, it will be necessary to publish the full texts of the Treaties, Agreements, Charters or better still, the Death Warrants, concluded by the astute Britishers with their formidable rivals, the Armenians, so that the unbiassed readers may be able to form their own opinion and draw their own inferences and conclusions therefrom, since these so-called Treaties have never received the publicity they deserved, and at one time their very *existence* was denied and they were produced with much reluctance, in 1772, when an honourable member of the House of Commons insisted on their immediate production. In this connection it may not be out of place to mention that a clever legal luminary, *Thomas Nuthall*, who happened to be the Solicitor to the Company, tried to prove by force of untenable arguments that the Treaties were null and void, inasmuch as they had been concluded by the *old* Company, although the *old* Company had legally and by an Act of Parliament surrendered all its rights, title, interests, assets and liabilities in India to the *new* Company formed in the reign of Queen Anne of England.

The following is a copy of the famous Treaty, the original of which can still be seen in the archives of the India Office in London.

Copy of an Agreement made between the Governor and Company of Merchants of London trading to the East Indies, and the Armenian Nation, dated 22nd June 1688.*

"The Governor and Company of Merchants of London trading to the East Indies, to all to whom these presents shall come, send greeting.

"Whereas representation hath been made to us by Sir Josiah Child, Baronet, our Deputy-Governor, that, upon long conferences by him had with Cogee Phanoos Calendar, an Armenian merchant of eminency, and an inhabitant of Isphahan in Persia, as also with Sir John Chardin of London. Knight, they had, on behalf of the Armenian nation proposed to him several particulars for carrying on a great part of the Armenian trade to India and Persia, and from thence to Europe, by way of England, which will redound greatly to his Majesty's advantage in his customs and to the increase of the English navigation, if the Armenian nation might obtain such license from this Company as will give them encouragement to alter and invert the ancient course of their trade to and from Europe. And we being always willing to increase an encourage the public trade and navigation of this kingdom, after a serious debate of all the propositions relating to this affair, have thought fit to agree and resolve as follows, *viz.*:

* See Reports of the House of Commons, 1772 and 1773, vol. 3rd, page 283.

First.—That the Armenian nation shall now, and at all times hereafter, have equal share and benefit of all indulgences this Company have or shall at any time hereafter grant to any of their own Adventurers or other English merchants whatsoever.

Secondly.—That they shall have free liberty at all times hereafter to pass and repass to and from India in any of the Company's ships on as advantageous terms as any free man whatsoever.

Thirdly.—That they shall have liberty to live in any of the Company's cities, garrisons, or towns in India, and to buy, sell, and purchase land and houses, and be capable of all civil offices and preferments in the same manner as they were Englishmen born, and shall always have the free and undisturbed liberty of the exercise of their own religion. And we hereby declare that we will not continue any Governor in our service that shall in any kind disturb or discountenance them in the full enjoyment of all the privileges hereby granted to them, neither shall they pay any other or greater duty in India than the Company's factors, or any other Englishman bern, do, or ought to do.

Fourthly.—That they may voyage from any of the Company's garrisons to any ports or places in India, the South seas, China or the Manillas, in any of the Company's ships, or any permissive free ships allowed by the Company, and may have liberty to trade to China, the Manillas or any other ports or places within the limits of the Company's Charter upon equal terms, duties and freights with any free Englishman whatsoever.

But whereas all persons in England do pay for bullion outwards two per cent. for freight and permission, and three per cent. homewards for diamonds and other precious stones, it is hereby declared and agreed, that the *Armenians* shall pay three per cent. outwards for bullion and two per cent. homewards for diamonds; for coral and amber-beads they shall pay six per cent. for freight and permission and for coral, amber, raw-cochineal, quick silver, sword blades, fire arms of all sorts, haberdashery wares, iron of all sorts wrought or unwrought, paper, all sorts of stationery wares, English looking or drinking glasses and for all sorts of Norimbergh wares and merchandises, ten per cent. for permission and six pounds per ton freight.

That all sorts of leather and Venitian wares and merchandises may be shipped out permission free, paying only six pounds per ton freight. For all cloth or woollen manufactures of what kind or sort soever, they pay twelve and one half per cent. in lieu of all charges whatsoever, excepting in the freight and the Company's customs in India. For lead ten per cent. permission and three pound per ton freight. For provisions of all sorts for eating and drinking, six pounds per ton freight, but no permission. And for all sorts of goods homeward bound they shall pay in manner and form following, *viz*., for diamonds, pearls, rubies, all sorts of precious stones, and ambergris,

two per cent. freight and permission as aforesaid. For musk of any kind six per cent. for freight and permission for pepper one penny per pound, and for coffee ten per cent. permission, besides freight. For all raw silk of Persia, twenty-one pounds per ton freight, but no permission, custom or any other charges whatsoever, excepting only two and one-half per cent, towards demorage of our ships. For all goods whatsoever of the growth and manufacture of Persia (red Carmenia wool excepted, which is hereby totally prohibited) ten per cent. permission and the same freights as the Company themselves pay, without any other charges whatsoever. For all sorts of China and Bengal goods, during the Company's indulgence for those kinds of goods, and no longer, in what place soever laden, thirteen per cent. for permission and all other charges, whatsoever, over and above the same freight as the Company pay, and the customs hereafter mentioned, *viz.* All goods outward and homeward bound are to pay the Company in East India five per cent. custom on the first cost as per invoices of the said goods, whether they be laden from or delivered into any of the Company's ports or places, or into any other ports or places whatsoever, excepting only from this article all bullion, diamonds, and other precious stones, ambergris, musk and raw Persian silk. And it is agreed, that the permission money and freight for all goods outward bound to be paid in India as aforesaid shall be accounted for at eight and one-half rupees per pound sterling, upon hypothecation of the goods to the Company in London. And we do declare that for ease of accounts, the custom due to the Company in East India is to be included together with the other charges, *viz.* Freight and permission according to the premises and all inserted in one sum upon the respective bills of loading which sum is always to be paid before the delivery of the goods to the persons mentioned in the said bills of loading which is the true intent of the hypothecation before expressed. That all goods which have once paid custom are not to pay any again, either upon importation or exportation of the same goods to the place where they first pay it, or to any other port or place belonging to us in the East Indies. That every person that shall take passages on any of the Company's ships shall pay in East India twelve pounds sterling for his permission outwards, at the rate of eight rupees and one-half per pound sterling; and the like sum to be paid here for every person that shall take passage homewards, besides eight pounds per head for sea provisions, which it hereby agreed shall always be paid in London. And for such persons who shall board at the Captain's table, they shall pay ten guineas to the Captain for the same. But the servants shall be messed apart by themselves, and always have the same allowance of ship-provisions as the officers and the seamen of the ship have or ought to have. And it is also granted to the said Armenians that the passengers shall be allowed, both out and home, to carry with them their wearing cloaths, furniture and provisions, not exceeding one quarter of a ton for each man, freight free. And whereas the said Armenians have used to drive a great trade from India to Turkey overland, by way of

Persia and Arabia, and are now desirous to drive that whole trade by the way of England, it is hereby declared and agreed. That the said Armenians have liberty to send upon any of the Company's ship for England, any sorts of goods of East India consigning to the Company by true invoices and bills of loading, and not otherwise, paying ten per cent. permission on the value of the said goods in London, besides the same freight as we ourselves pay. And it is hereby declared that the Company have liberty to detain and keep in their possession all such goods as shall be consigned unto them as aforesaid, until they have shipped them off upon English shipping, bound to Turkey, Venice or Leghorn and taken security that they shall not be landed in any other ports or places of Europe except the place to which they shall be directed by the said Armenian proprietor or their agents. And, lastly, it is declared and agreed, that notwithstanding anything aforesaid it shall and may be lawful for the said Company to reserve and keep for their own use any of the said goods so intended for Turkey, as aforesaid, paying the proprietors one-third part clear profit on the first cost as aforesaid; all freight, charges, and disbursements whatsoever being first deducted and foreprized, *eight rupees in India being in this case to be accounted for one pound sterling.* In witness whereof, the Governor, Deputy-Governor and three of the Committee of the said Company have hereunto set their hands and caused the larger Seal of the said Company to be affixed, this two-and twentieth day of June, Anno Domini 1688, and in the fourth year of the reign of our Sovereign Lord James the Second by the Grace of God King of England, Scotland, France and Ireland, Defender of the Faith etc."

BENJAMIN BATHURST,

Governor.

JOSIAH CHILD,

Deputy Governor.

WORCESTER.

JOHN MOORE.

GEORGE BOUN.

Simultaneously with the above, another Treaty, equally alluring, was concluded with the Armenians by the English, of which the following is a true copy:—

"The Governor and Company of Merchants of London trading into the East Indies to all to whom it may concern, send greeting. Whereas it had been represented to us, that the Armenian nation have a desire to carry on a trade and commerce with our people in the East Indies, we do for the better encouragement of that nation to settle and cohabit in the several garrisons, cities and towns in the East Indies under our jurisdiction, by these

presents declare, grant and agree, that whenever forty or more of the Armenian nation shall become inhabitants in any of the garrisons, cities, or towns belonging to the Company in the East Indies, the said Armenians shall not only have and enjoy the free use and exercise of their religion but there shall also be allowed to them a parcel of ground to erect a church thereon for the worship and service of God in their own way. And that we will also at our own charge, cause a convenient church to be built of timber, which afterwards the said Armenians may alter and build with stone and other solid material to their own good liking. And the said Governor and Company will also allow fifty pounds per annum, during the space of seven years, for the maintenance of such priest or minister as they shall choose to officiate therein.

Given under the Company's larger Seal, as also under the hands of the Governor, Deputy-Governor, and three of the Committee of the said Company this two and twentieth day of June, Anno Domini 1688, and in the fourth year of the reign of our Sovereign Lord James the Second, by the Grace of God King of England, Scotland, France and Ireland, Defender of the Faith etc."

BENJAMIN BATHURST,
Governor.

JOSIAH CHILD,
Deputy Governor.

WORCESTER.

JOHN MOORE.

GEORGE BOUN.

And in order to please the illustrious representative of the Armenian nation, through whose great influence and strenuous efforts the important negotiations had been so successfully concluded, the magnanimous English, in a fit of unexampled generosity, granted the sole Monopoly of the Garnet trade in India to Khojah Phanoos Kalandar and to his descendants after him, as set forth in the following Treaty, in which they naively say that it was granted in compliance with his "request." Here is the Treaty:—

"The Governor and Company of Merchants of London trading into the East Indies, to all whom it may concern send greeting. "Whereas Cogee, Phanoos Calendar, an Armenian merchant of eminency, and an inhabitant of Isphahan, in Persia, hath taken great pains in making an agreement with the said Company for a great trade to be carried on in English shipping by himself and others of the Armenian nation; the said Governor and Company in consideration thereof do, by these presents (at the request of the said Cogee

Phanoos Calendar) freely grant unto him and his family the sole trade of Garnet, he paying ten per cent. custom for the same, and the usual freight paid by the Company. And the said Company do hereby declare that they will neither trade in the said commodity themselves, nor suffer any other persons, English or stranger, for the future to trade or traffick in that commodity.

Given under the Company's larger Seal, as also under the hands of the Governor, Deputy-Governor, and three of the Committee of the said Company, this two-and-twentieth day of June, Anno Domini 1688, and in the fourth year of the reign of our Sovereign Lord James the Second, by the Grace of God, King of England, Scotland, France and Ireland, Defender of the Faith etc

BENJAMIN BATHURST,
Governor.

JOSIAH CHILD,
Deputy Governor.

WORCESTER.

JOHN MOORE.

GEORGE BOUN.

Here again British suavity asserts itself in a most pronounced manner, for although they admit, and admit they must, that they were granting him the monopoly of the Garnet trade in India in consideration of the "great pains" he had taken "in making an agreement with the said Company for a great trade to be carried in English shipping by himself and others of the Armenian nation" yet at the same time and without any fear of contradicting themselves, they do not hesitate or blush to place him under an obligation to the Company by granting his request in a most magnanimous manner. Pray tell me gentle reader in what part of the civilized world can remuneration for valuable services rendered be at any time considered or construed as a favour or an act of grace, if not charity? Is not the labourer worthy of his hire, then why confound wages justly earned with charity? When you pay a labourer his wages, do you for a moment think that you have given him charity or done him a great favour? But then the *honourable* gentlemen who were signatories to the Treaty concluded with the noble and illustrious Armenian, say, without the least compunction, that it was "at the request of the said Cogee Phanoos Calendar" that the monopoly was granted as if he were an ordinary concession-hunter or a mercenary, simply striving for self-aggrandizement at his nation's expense, when as they admit, he was "a merchant of eminency and the head of the Armenians in India."

I am however inclined to think that instead of Khojah Phanoos Kalandar asking the English for any favours which would have been *infra dig.* for the proud and the magnanimous Armenian, the English Company, with a view to ingratiate themselves with the great Armenian, must have specially asked him to do them the honour of accepting a small present in the shape of an insignificant monopoly as a memento of the auspicious friendship just begun, if not for the valuable services rendered by that illustrious Armenian to the British cause in India. That the English greatly appreciated and valued the friendship of that remarkable Armenian magnate is evident from the fact that when they were sadly in need of soldiers for the protection of their several important factories in India, principally at Surat, they approached Khojah Phanoos Kalandar again for help and collaboration, as the following communication from the Court of Directors in London to their " Deputy and Council of Bombay " under date the 26th January 1692, will clearly show:—

" Stores of all kinds wee have sent you by this ship, the *Modona*, and what souldiers wee could possibly procure. But it is very difficult to get any at this time while the King (William III) has occasion for such vast numbers of men in Flanders. Among those wee send great mortality has happened, as well in their passage out as after their arrival, which has put us on discourse with the Armenian Christians here, to see if by their means wee could procure some private souldiers of their nation from Isphahan, which wee should esteem, if wee could get them as good as English. Not that they have altogether the same courage which Englishmen have, but because by their conduct they are now so united to the English nation, and particularly to this Company, that in effect wee and they have but the common interest. They are very near to our national and reformed religion, as sober temperate men, and know how to live in health in a hot climate. Coja Panoos Kalandar tells us it will be difficult to get any considerable number of them to be souldiers: they are universally addicted to trade, but some few, he thinks, may be picked up at Surat and he will write to his friends at Julpa [Julfa] to see if they can persuade any from thence to come to you to make an experiment of their entertainment, and of their liking or dislike of the service."

The same communication, in which the original spelling has been carefully preserved, goes on to say:—" If you can procure any Armenian Christians to be souldiers, wee doe allow you to give them the same pay as our English souldiers and forty shillings gratuity and the charge of their passage from Gombroon (Bandar Abbas) to Bombay, wee would not have above fifty or sixty in our pay at one time, and if you had the like number of Madagascar slaves to teach the exercise of arms and to do some inferior duty under our English souldiers, being listed upon an English Captaine kept in a Company by themselves under the Dutch manner, and allowing them a competent proportion of rice, a red capp and red coat and some other trifles

to please them, not having above fifty or sixty at a time, and they never to have a custody of their own armes, wee hope such a contrivance might be a good Auxiliary aid to our own garrison, especially when English souldiers are scarce and wee need some balance of power. For take it as an infallible constant rule, that the more castes the more safety and the less danger of mutiny. Wee know their is a necessity for increasing our English souldiers and wee will doe it as soone and as much as wee possibly can. In the meantime, Armenian Christians if you could have them *are the very best men to be trusted* and next to them Madagascar Coffrees." From this it will be seen that the Armenians, and Khojah Phanoos Kalandar in particular, were held in high esteem by the Court of Directors for their strong attachment to the Company and their unswerving loyalty to the British cause in India.

It may not be generally known that the *first* English Factory was opened in 1612 at Surat, the premier city then in Western India, by the permission of the Emperor Jehangeer, that devotee at the shrine of Bacchus who had left the reins of the vast Government in the able hands of his famous queen, that remarkable Persian lady known to fame and history as Nur Jahan (the light of the world).

And it was at Surat, where the Armenians had settled since the halcyon and palmy days of Akbar, the patron of their nation, that the English *first* came in contact with these remarkable merchants from distant Armenia, who were the premier merchants in that important emporium of Indian trade during the XVII century.

Khojah Phanoos Kalandar, the "Armenian merchant of eminency" as the English call him, was a native of Julfa (Ispahan) but had settled down at Surat and his only son's grave in the Mortuary chapel at the Armenian cemetery, adjoining the old Dutch graveyard of that place, can be seen to this day, bearing an inscription in classical Aremenian, of which the following is a translation: "This is the tomb of Kalandar, the son of Phanoos Kalandar of Julfa, who departed this life on Saturday, the 6th day of March 1695."

It may be mentioned, *en passant*, that this is the only grave *inside* the Mortuary Chapel in the Armenian Cemetery at Surat which was visited by the writer of these lines in January 1908 when about two hundred epitaphs in the classical Armenian language, dating from the middle of the XVI century right up to the first quarter of the XIX century, were rescued from oblivion and inevitable loss from the Armenian cemetery, as also from the dilapidated church, the roof of which had fallen. It is however, sad to reflect that there are no Armenians left now in that once flourishing and historic city, whereas in the palmy days of Khojah Phanoos Kalandar, it was the most important centre of the Armenian trade in India.

Alas for departed glory and the vicissitudes of time! for by an irony of Fate, the beautiful Armenian church of good old Surat, with its historical associations, was, in the absence of devout worshippers, found in the indis-

putable possession of thousands of owls, crows, bats, rats, snakes and scorpions which howled, screeched and hissed ominously as the present writer, at the risk of his life, entered the sacred edifice where his revered grandfather, Seth Mackertich Agazar Seth, had worshipped during the last quarter of the XVIII century.

But I have digressed from the subject-matter of this Memoir. Historic Surat, the birthplace of British rule in India, contains amongst other notable graves, that of Khojah Phanoos Kalandar's only son, but despite ceaseless and strenuous efforts in the thorny fields of antiquarian research, I have not yet been able to find either the time or the place of Khojah Phanoos Kalandar's death, for he is certainly not buried at Surat, where, as we have seen, his only son found a last resting place in 1695. He may perhaps have died in London where he had gone in 1688 with his nephew—the future diplomat Khojah Israel Sarhad—or he may most probably have returned to Julfa, his birth place, and there slept with his forefathers.

His only son Kalandar, who died at Surat in 1695, could not have left any male issue, for I have not yet been able to find the grave of another Kalandar either at Surat or at Bombay, Agra, Delhi, Lahore, Gwalior, Bhopal, Lucknow, Patna, Benares, Sydabad, Hooghly, Chinsurah, Calcutta, Dacca, Madras, Mylapore, Musulipatam, Pondicherry or Hyderabad, where wealthy Armenians lived and died during the XVII and XVIII centuries. Although there are no lineal descendants of Khojah Phanoos Kalandar in the male line, yet there are in the present day several prominent and well-known Armenians in India and elsewhere who can claim descent from him through his daughter, who had married Khojah Minas of the noble family of Khojah Emniaz of Julfa. Their only daughter, Hripsimah, married Satoor Phanoos Tharkhan of the well-known Shookhoorean family of Surat. Satoor Tharkhan had come over from Surat and settled in Calcutta where he died in 1761, aged 36 years, and his grave can be seen in the Armenian churchyard of Nazareth to this day, with an inscription in classical Armenian. His widow, Hripsimah, after marrying a second time, died in 1770, and was buried next to her husband in the Calcutta Armenian Church. Her second husband, Moses, who by the way was a relation of hers, survived her by three years and died, evidently of a broken heart in 1773, and is also buried in the Armenian churchyard of Calcutta, next to her, so that by a strange coincidence, Hripsimah, the grand daughter of Khojah Phanoos Kalandar, lies buried between her *two* devoted husbands, which should be a great consolation to her soul in the next world. Satoor Tharkhan's daughter Begoom, by his wife Hripsimah, was born in 1755 and she married the famous Agah Catchick Arrakiel of Calcutta in 1771.

For a fuller account of the achievements of the early Armenian Settlers in this country, see the " History of the Armenians in India " by the present writer.



RANJIT SINGH.

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Notes on the Life and Times of Ranjit Singh.

(By A. F. M. Abdul Ali, F.R.S.L., M.A.)

Introduction.

Captain the Hon'ble W. G. Osborne, Military Secretary to the Earl of Auckland, Governor-General of India (1836-42),* who visited the Court of the Maharaja Ranjit Singh at Adinanagar in 1838 remarked: "The attention which is bestowed upon Indian politics and history is so rare and superficial, that there are probably many persons to whom the name of Ranjit Singh is sufficiently familiar, who are very imperfectly acquainted with his career and the nation which he ruled." In spite of the march of time and the growing thirst for historical research this observation holds good to-day. This monograph, based as it is on unpublished records in the archives of the Government of India, should throw a new flood of light on the life and times of the "Lion of the Punjab."

2. There is, perhaps, no more notable and picturesque figure among the Indian Chiefs who rose to power and carved his way to eminence on the ruins of the once great and magnificent Mughal Empire than the Maharaja Ranjit Singh, the founder of the Sikh Kingdom of Lahore. In the beginning of the 19th century amidst the fierce conflicts and dissensions of the Sikh Chiefs and *Sirdars* he found his opportunity and seizing it with energy and promptitude welded an unruly and disorganised people into a compact and powerful nation and converted them into a strong military body, "which" according to Hunter "for steadiness and religious fervour has had no parallel since the 'Ironsides' of Oliver Cromwell."

3. The great French traveller Victor Jacquemont, who visited Ranjit Singh's Court at Lahore, remarked: "Ranjit Singh is an extraordinary man —'a Bonaparte in miniature.' His conversation is like a nightmare. He is almost the first inquisitive Indian I have met and his curiosity balances the apathy of his nation. He has asked me a hundred thousand questions about India, the British, Europe, Bonaparte, this world in general and the next, hell, paradise, God, the devil and a myriad of others of the same kind."

Ranjit Singh and Napoleon Bonaparte compared.

4. Jacquemont's comparison of Ranjit Singh with Napoleon is not as fanciful as it appears. From the records we find that Ranjit Singh had many similarities with Napoleon. Ranjit Singh's way of honouring his famous generals, Misser Dewan Chand with the title of "Khair Khwah Ba-safa Zafar Jang Bahadur" and with a *khilat* valued at a lakh of rupees after the

* Capt. Osborne was also the nephew of Lord Auckland (*vide* Sec. O. C. 3rd October 1838, No. 102).

fall of Multan in 1818 and Boodh Singh with the honorary dress on the battle-field after his suppression of Syed Ahmed's terrible revolt near Attock early in 1827[1] greatly resembled Napoleon's way of honouring his famous marshals, Lannes and Davout, after the battles of Montebello and Auerstadt in 1800 and 1806; Ranjit Singh's hazardous expedition in 1822 to the Afghan town of Menkerah[2] an inhospitable, sandy and cheerless tract between the Indus and the Sutlej—and Napoleon's expeditions to the deserts of Syria and Egypt in 1798 have many features in common; Ranjit Singh's way of encouraging his disheartened troops at the fierce Battle of Nowshera in 1823 "by placing himself at the heat of the battle with a flying standard in hand and uttering fiery words of exhortations"[3] reminds us of the tactics which Napoleon so often displayed in his several battles, notably at Arcola and Lodi in 1796; Ranjit Singh's expedition against the wild and warlike Afghan tribes of the Derbend country (in Baluchistan) after crossing the most dangerous part of the Indus between Ghazi and Tribela in 1825[4] corresponds in several ways to Napoleon's great expedition against the hardy and impetuous Cossacks of Russia after crossing the Niemen river in 1809; Ranjit Singh's masterly retreat from the Derbend province to Lahore single-handed through hills, mountains and deserts at the astonishing speed of 50 to 60 miles a day after recrossing the Indus[5] recalls to our mind Napoleon's great retreat from Moscow through the wilds of Russia to Paris all alone in 1812 after effecting the perilous passage of the River Beresina. Sir Lepel Griffin, a writer of great repute, also finds many common features between the kingdoms of Ranjit Singh and Napoleon. He says: "The Sikh monarchy founded by Ranjit Singh was *Napoleonic* in the suddenness of its rise, the brilliancy of its success and the completeness of its overthrow."

Ranjit Singh's inquisitiveness.

5. Regarding the "inquisitiveness" of Ranjit Singh of which Jacquemont speaks, a detailed account of his 'Insatiable curiosity' will be found in the letters[6] of Captain C. M. Wade, Political Agent at Ludhiana, to the Secretary of the Board, dated the 22nd, 25th and 31st May 1831 and 31st December 1832. The Hon'ble Captain Osborne who had the opportunity of conversing with Ranjit Singh in 1838 thus speaks of his "keen inquisitiveness" in his (Osborne's) *Journal*:—"It is hardly possible to give an idea of the ceaseless rapidity with which his questions flow or the infinite variety of subjects they embrace." This shews how eager he was "to increase the sphere of his knowledge and information" and how with no advantage of early education he made himself the best-informed man in the Punjab.

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[1] For. & Pol. Dept. Misc. vol. No. 206, pp. 18-19 and 165.
[2] *Ibid*, pp. 135-6.
[3] *Ibid*, p. 142.
[4] Ibid, p. 155 (in this attempt Ranjit Singh lost more than 500 men by drowning).
[5] *Ibid*, p. 157.
[6] Pol. O. C. 1st July 1831 Nos. 42-5; Sec. O. C. 23rd April 1833, No. 14.

An interesting story is given by an anonymous writer in a recent issue of *The Statesman** which is well worth repeating:—

"Ranjit Singh fell once into a great fit of curiosity about Lord Auckland's religion, the Governor-General having declined engagements for Sundays and Christmas day; so he sent his *fakeer* to the Chaplain for translations of what the Chaplain says to the Lord Sahib every Sunday, and one day, after a review, he stopped the Chaplain to ask him questions about our prayers. One day he wanted the Chaplain to come and explain to him what it all meant. The Chaplain went, taking with him translations of the Lord's Prayer, the Ten Commandments, and the prayer for the Governor-General. The Commandments, the Governor-General thought, must have been a puzzle to Ranjit, especially the one about not coveting one's neighbour's goods. Ranjit was very much interested, the Chaplain reported on his return, and his *fakeer*, and Dhian Singh, asked a great many questions."

Ranjit Singh's origin; wells in the Punjab.

6. Ranjit Singh cannot lay claim to a notable pedigree. From the records[7] his origin can be traced to a petty *Zemindar* (some say farmer) by the name of Daisoo, a Jat of Sansee race, who dwelt in a village called Sukercheck in the district of Manjha. A son by the name of Nodh and a humble patrimony of "three ploughs and a well" were "all" which Daisoo possessed in this world. It may be noted here that the possession of wells is considered very valuable in the Punjab, where on account of the dearth of extensive river-systems and water-supply, any reservoir of water is a source of wealth to their possessors. The value of wells in the Punjab is evidenced by the fact that when Ranjit Singh visited Menkerah in 1822 he ordered several wells to be dug around its Fort.[8] Little did Daisoo dream that one of his descendants was destined to carve out for himself a great kingdom, greater than Italy,[9] to be the proud possessor of that peerless gem, the Kohinoor,[10] once the glory of the Peacock throne of the Mughal Court, to become a powerful potentate, whose friendship would be courted not only by the Indian Chiefs and Rajas but also by foreign kings and princes and successive Governors-General from the Earl of Minto down to the Earl of Auckland[11] that he would create a powerful and well-trained army strong enough to resist the whole might of the British Empire in the hard-contested Sikh Wars (1845-9) and, on his death, would leave the Empire he founded at the zenith of its glory. "Such was the magnificence of his palaces at Lahore, Cashmere, Multan and Adina-

* "Kim" in *The Statesman* of Nov. 1st, 1925. "Fakeer" mentioned in the above passage apparently refers to "Faqir Azizuddin" (see footnote 82).

[7] For. & Pol. Dept. Misc. vol. No. 206, p. 45.

[8] *Ibid*, p. 135.

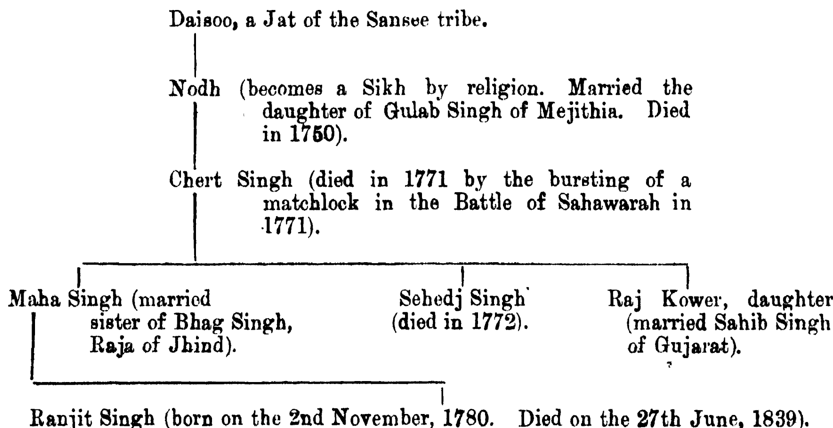
[9] *The Sikhs* by Gen. Sir J. H. Gordon, p. 118.

[10] For. & Pol. Dept. Misc. vol. No. 206, pp. 98-9.

[11] Pol. O. C. 18th July, 1838, Nos. 52-4; Sec. O. C. 16th October, 1839, No. 12; Pol. O. C 29th July, 1831, Nos 39-40, etc.

nagar" that Ranjit Singh admitted to Capt. Wade that "he himself felt surprised at the gifts of Fortune in changing his destiny."[12] What a contrast between Daisoo, the humble possessor of "a well and three ploughs" and his descendant, Ranjit Singh—the undisputed monarch of "the Land of the five rivers!"

7. The following is the family genealogical tree collected from available records[13]:—



The year '1757'.

8. Let us now turn for a moment to the history of the East India Company in Bengal. The year in which Maha Singh, the father of Ranjit Singh, was born was the most momentous in the annals of the Company. It was the year 1757[14]. In this memorable year Lord Clive sowed on the battle-field of Plassey the seed of the great British-Indian Empire.

Death of Maha Singh.

9. Maha Singh, who was a brave predatory chief, died in 1787[15] at the early age of 30 leaving a fairly large territory. Ranjit Singh was then, according to the records, a boy of 7 years of age. As during this period, women* used to play an important part in public affairs, the task of adminis-

[12] Sec. O. C. 23rd April, 1833, No. 14. (Letter from C. M. Wade to W. H. Macnaughten, dated 31st December, 1832, para. 3.)

[13] For. & Pol. Dept. Misc. vol. No. 206, pp. 45-9.

[14] But Syed Muhammad Latif in his *History of the Punjab* puts this date as 1760, and the year of his death as 1792 (p. 335).

[15] For. & Pol. Dept. Misc. vol. No. 206, p. 51. But Gordon in his book, *The Sikhs*, puts this date as 1792 (p. 83); he further says that Ranjit Singh was twelve years old when his father died.

*They not only took part in 'public affairs' but also in 'military affairs.' Mae Sedda Kower, mother-in-law of Ranjit, materially helped him in his military campaigns (*vide* For. & Pol. Misc. vol. 206, pp. 57 and 124).

tering the estates left by Maha Singh devolved on his widow, who was assisted by her late husband's dewan named Lekheo or Lekhpet.[16] Obsessed with the glamour of power she was even unmindful of her own son's interests. Ranjit Singh, however, was a boy of a different mould altogether. Instead of indulging in idle pleasures, he spent his time in manly and warlike exercises.[17] He himself told Captain Wade, Political Assistant at Ludhiana, in one of his conversations with him in the year 1831[18] that "when my father died, he left 20,000 rounds of shots which I spent in firing at marks." Such 'heroic boyhood' was surely not destined by Nature to lose itself in effeminate degeneracy as planned by his selfish mother.

Ranjit Singh ends the regency of his mother.

10. At the age of 13 (about the year 1793), Ranjit Singh,[19] with the aid of his father's maternal uncle, Dal Singh, assumed the government of his father's estates. It may be noted here that Ranjit Singh has been accused by some writers[20] of matricide "to remove the obstacle which interfered with the attainment of his ambition". But there is nothing definite in the records which can substantiate this charge. This much only is alleged.[21] "It is said that the means which Ranjit Singh adopted to effect his purpose involved a commission of some criminal acts, which if founded on truth, would appear deeply to implicate his moral character."

Ranjit Singh as a leader of men.

11. Ranjit Singh's great career since his assumption of his government in 1793 up to his last campaign against Peshawar in 1828 was a long series of thrilling military exploits extending over 40 years which, according to Sir Lepel Griffin, "undoubtedly puts his name among the great leaders of men from Julius Caesar down to Napoleon Bonaparte".

Ranjit Singh's Campaigns.

12. It is not within the scope of this paper to recount in detail the campaigns of Ranjit Singh, but two of the most important of them cannot be overlooked:—

(1) Against Lahore:—

Ranjit Singh's campaign against Lahore in 1799 in which he was materially aided by his mother-in-law, Mae Sedda Kower,

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[16] For. & Pol. Dept. Misc. vol. No. 206, p. 52.
[17] *Ibid*, pp. 52-3.
[18] Pol. O. C. 1 Jul. 1831, No. 45.
[19] For. & Pol. Dept. Misc. vol. No. 206, p. 53; but Gordon and Thorburn in their works, *The Sikhs* and *The Punjab in Peace and War*, put the age as 17.
[20] *The Punjab in Peace and War* by S. S. Thorburn, p. 21; *The History of India*, by Beveridge, Vol. III, p. 274.
[21] For. Misc. vol. No. 206, p. 53.

was "the first event of his life from which his rise is chiefly to be dated".[22] It was here in 1801 that Ranjit Singh "formally assumed the title of 'Maharaja' and established a Mint and issued in token of sovereignty a coin in his name, on the obverse of which was the inscription Hospitality, the Sword, Victory and Conquest, and on the reverse, the era and place of coining.

(2) Against Azim Khan:—

Ranjit Singh's campaign against the Afghan King, Azim Khan[23] who came to invade his dominion in 1823 ranks as one of the greatest battles of the world. "The army of Azim Khan was estimated at 25,000 and Ranjit Singh had about 35,000 men." It would have ended in disaster for Ranjit Singh, had not his propitious star brought providential help to him. On the fateful field of Nowshera where the two armies met, the troops of Azim Khan fought with such desperation that Ranjit Singh very nearly lost his crown. The documents say that the Afghans "worked up to a pitch of frenzied enthusiasm, stained their hands and feet with the juice of *henna* and rushed upon the Sikhs." It further appears from the records, that just when the Afghans were going to strike the decisive blow, Azim Khan, their Chief, misled by a false rumour "that the Sikhs had penetrated to the rear of the field and that his harem was in danger," hastily retreated from the field to its rescue—a fact which dispirited his soldiers and led victory to the standard of Ranjit Singh.

Ranjit Singh not a cruel man.

13. Although to build his mighty empire Ranjit Singh humbled successive Chiefs and *Sirdars* of the Punjab and the adjoining countries and used all manner of means to exact big tributes and *nazaranas* from them to enrich and replenish his Treasury,[24] let it be said to his credit, that he never wantonly sullied and soiled his hands with their blood. On the contrary, the records of the Imperial Record Department, teem with instances of his favour and bounty, bestowed irrespective of caste, creed and religion. In some cases even the booty[25] taken by his soldiers was ordered to be returned to the proper owners. For a full catalogue of such favoured names, the records may be profitably consulted.

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[22] For. Misc. vol. No. 206, pp. 57-8.

[23] For. Misc. vol. No. 206, pp. 140-45; Ranjit Singh was so much impressed with the "furious impetuosity" of the Afghan soldiers on the battlefield of Nowshera that he remarked to Capt. Wade " the Sikhs hardly know how to contend " (page 141).

[24] Capt. Osborne says that "Ranjit had 12 millions in gold in his Treasury at Amritsar in 1839. (Osborne's *Court and Camp of Ranjit Singh*, London, 1840, p. 218.)

[25] For. & Pol. Misc. vol. No. 206, p. 118.

14. The following testimonies of three eminent Europeans regarding the clemency of Ranjit Singh amply repay perusal. Baron Carl Von Hugel, a German traveller who visited Ranjit Singh's Court in 1835, thus speaks about him:—"The sole aim of Ranjit Singh is the preservation and extension of his unlimited power; and though his ambitious mind considered all means perfectly allowable to this end he has never wantonly imbrued his hands in blood. Never perhaps was so large an empire founded by one man with so little criminality." H. E. Fane, Aide-de-Camp to the then Commander-in-Chief, Sir Henry Fane, who visited the Court of Ranjit Singh in 1837, supports the above view: "Ranjit has the character generally of a kind and generous master and one of the best princes that has ever reigned in India. As evidence of being a really good man may be cited the fact of his never having put a man to death for even the most heinous crime. His exceeding kindness and good nature throughout our entire visit makes us believe that such was his real character." Osborne who, at the instance of Lord Auckland, visited the Court of Ranjit Singh in 1838, also corroborates the above opinion in the following terms: "The Maharaja rules with a rod of iron, it is true; but in justice to him it must be stated that except in actual open warfare he has never been known to take life, though his own[26] has been attempted more than once, and his reign will be found freer from any striking acts of cruelty and oppression than those of many more civilized monarchs."

Ranjit Singh's shortcomings.

15. None the less he was not without his blemishes:—

(*a*) About the year 1810,[27] Ranjit Singh, without any justification, exacted 10,000 rupees from the innocent *faqirs* of Utchgul Imam, the shrine of a Muhammadan saint.

(*b*) About the year 1813[28] he extorted the 'Kohinoor' jewel from its possessor, Shah Shuja, ex-monarch of Cabul, who was at the time under his protection.

(*c*) In 1817[29] Ranjit Singh without sufficient reason dispossessed the Raja of Nurpur at the instigation of Raja Sansar Chand, Chief of Katoch, who bore a private grudge and had him placed in confinement.

(*d*) In 1821,[30] Ranjit Singh without apparent reason imprisoned, after confiscating all her territories, his mother-in-law, Mae Sedda Kower, who had so largely helped him in his earlier career. It may, however, be mentioned that her estate of Wednee, on

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[26] Pol. O. C. 1 Jul. 1831, No. 43.
[27] For. Misc. vol. No. 206, p. 86.
[28] *Ibid*, p. 99.
[29] *Ibid*, p. 112.
[30] *Ibid*, p. 125.

the east of the Sutlej, was immediately released on the intervention of Capt. Murray, then at Ludhiana.

(e) About the year 1822[31] some *Jagirdars* were heavily fined by Ranjit Singh without any adequate reason. One of them, Sirdar Dal Singh, who was fined one lakh of rupees committed suicide by taking poison.

(f) Some time in the year 1826[32] Ranjit Singh's character underwent a great change and it became a strange combination of "excessive liberality and avarice." While he was granting extensive charity to his favourites he was committing "indiscriminate extortion from every officer of the State." Misser Dewan Chand—a sturdy upright man and the hero of the Multan, Cashmere and Derbend expeditions—strongly protested against the Maharaja's avarice. Ranjit Singh so far forgot himself that he severely scolded him for his so-called audacity. This was too much for the heart of that great soldier. Deeply mortified, he ended his life, some say, by poison.

(g) In 1828[33] Ranjit Singh tried to force Raja Anuruddha Chand, Chief of Katoch, to marry his sister with his favourite minister, Raja Dhiyan Singh. But Anuruddha refused the alliance on account of the obscure origin of Dhiyan Singh. As Ranjit Singh still continued to press Raja Anuruddha unreasonably for this marriage, the latter requested a month's time to enable his sister to take a bath in the holy waters of the Ganges at Hurdwar—an act essential for a Punjab lady preliminary to her marriage. In the meantime Raja Anuruddha with his family and sister fled to Nalagher, east of the Sutlej. Ranjit Singh on this plea dispossessed him of his territories and annexed them.

Ranjit Singh's contact with the British.

16. Ranjit Singh's first relations with the British began in 1805,[34] just after his return to Lahore from his Multan expedition of 1804. In that year he first came into contact with the British by taking an important part in the treaty which was concluded between Jaswant Rao Holkar and Lord Lake when the former, after crossing the Beas river at Byrowal, entered Ranjit Singh's dominion near Amritsar, closely pursued by the latter. But his first permanent connection with the British dates from the year 1808. It happened thus:—The phenomenal military success of his great general Dewan Mohkem Chand on the Cis-Sutlej states in 1807[35] emboldened Ranjit

[31] For. Misc. vol. No. 206, p. 139.
[32] *Ibid*, pp. 161-2.
[33] *Ibid*, pp. 171-3.
[34] *Ibid*, p. 70.
[35] *Ibid*, pp. 74-5.

Singh to conquer the whole country east of the Sutlej up to the Jamuna—the northern boundary of the then Company's dominion in India. To force him to desist and also to invite his co-operation to thwart the threatened attack of Napoleon on India about this time, Lord Minto sent a mission to his Court[36] in 1808 headed by Charles Metcalfe, then First Assistant to the Resident at Delhi.

Muharram of 1809; Treaty of Amritsar, 1809.

17. It happened that amongst Metcalfe's attendants there were a number of Muhammadans. It being *Muharram* time (February 1809) they were celebrating the martyrdom of Husain with the usual ceremonies. The passing of *taziahs* to the place of burial to the accompaniment of wailing and tomtoming excited the Akali Sikhs to frenzy. A rush upon Metcalfe's camp would have surely taken place, had not these handful of Muhammadans, trained in European military discipline, stood to arms and scattered the rioters. Ranjit Singh reached the scene just in time to see the Sikhs dispersed. He hastened to Metcalfe, made ample apologies for the unprovoked attack on his men, complimented him on the discipline of his sepoys and granted all the British demands. He then entered into a friendly treaty with the British on the 25th April, 1809,[37] the details of which are given in the records.[38] One important condition of the treaty was that "the Maharaja should not extend his conquests to the east of the Sutlej."

18. The Muharram incident established his faith in European military discipline and he sought to have his soldiers trained according to Western standards. We find from the records[39] that in the fierce battle of Nowshera with the Afghans in 1823, when the fate of his empire was in the balance,[40] Ranjit Singh once more felt strongly the necessity of imparting European military training to his troops.

A peep into the later Mughal period; foreign adventurers into Indian Courts.

19. After the fall of the magnificent Mughal Empire in the beginning of the 19th century, Hindusthan presented a sad spectacle of constant internecine warfare, rapine and violence. The imbecility of the later Mughal Emperors, their indolence and love of ease and luxury paved the way for ambitious foreign adventurers to try their fortune in India—which appeared to them a most alluring prize, a land strewn with gems and jewels—a perfect *El Dorado* of Fairy tale. Bands of enterprising Europeans[41] began to flood the Indian Courts and enter the armies of the Native rulers. Their unquestion-

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[36] For. Misc. vol. No. 206, p. 76.
[37] *Ibid*, p. 78.
[38] *Ibid*, pp. 78-80.
[39] *Ibid*, pp. 141-2.
[40] *Ibid*, p. 142.
[41] India Pol. Despatch to the Court of Directors, No. 14 of 1831.

able talent and knowledge of military tactics won the admiration of the Native Princes and Chiefs, who eagerly employed them with a view to organizing their armies according to European modes of discipline.

Allard and Ventura.

20. Amongst these adventurers were two French veterans of Waterloo—Allard and Ventura—whose services were eagerly utilised by the Maharaja about the year 1823. From the records[42] it appears that after the fall of the Napoleonic Empire on the field of Waterloo in 1815, they left their native country, passed through Constantinople and Asia Minor, and accepted service in Persia. Not meeting with any success there, they proceeded to India by way of Candahar, Cabul and Peshawar and arrived at Shahdara opposite to Lahore in 1823. Although their admission into Ranjit Singh's service stirred the jealousy of his old servants, we find from the records that "it created a new era in his Government which led to those changes in its military organisation which the benefit of European science is calculated to introduce." It is interesting to note the Frenchmen's smart reply—that "a shawl once woven cannot be re-woven"—when a battalion already trained in Indian methods were put under them for European training. The following incident shows how the appointments of European foreigners in the army of the Maharaja was resented by the Sikh soldiers:—"In 1826 Generals Ventura and Allard represented to the Maharaja that a number of Sikh *Sardars* and soldiers had refused to serve under them as they were foreigners and were ready to oppose their authority with drawn swords. The Maharaja at once at the head of a body of troops and with some guns came out of the city to Anarkali and ordered his tents to be pitched there. Many arrests were made, officers degraded and ringleaders fined. These prompt measures restored order among the troops, the Maharaja taking the utmost precaution to allay unfounded fears." Next year, Ranjit Singh allowed some more Europeans to enter his army. They were Oms, a Spaniard, Court, a Frenchman, Avitabile, an Italian, and Mevius, a Prussian. In the year 1831 an Italian, Signior Catchioli,[43] came to Ranjit Singh's Court at Lahore for service but failed to secure it. It is interesting to note that Ranjit Singh also encouraged the Gurkhas[44] to enter his army. His army, besides these, contained a large number of Muhammadan troops.[45]

Ranjit Singh's ill-health; cholera outbreak of 1827.

21. The suicide of Ranjit Singh's great general, Missir Dewan Chand, in 1826 (*vide* page 8) was an irreparable loss to the Punjab and was followed

[42] For. Misc. vol. No. 206, pp. 125-34.
[43] Pol. O. C., 4 Nov. 1831, No. 19.
[44] Pol. O. C., 1 Jul. 1831, No. 43; 18 Jul. 1838, No. 53.
[45] Sec. O. C., 7 Aug. 1839, Nos. 11-12.

by a series of unhappy events. In that very year[46] the Maharaja was struck down by a serious attack of fever, due to the excessive rains of that year. On account of the virulence and obstinacy of the fever, Doctor Murray of Ludhiana was immediately sent for by Faqir Imam-ud-din, the Maharaja's most devoted officer. The doctor at the request of the Maharaja stayed with him for nearly 7 months. Under his able treatment the Maharaja regained his normal condition. It appears from the records that Doctor Murray made a very favourable impression on the Maharaja, though Latif in the *History of the Punjab* (p. 436) says:—" that Doctor Murray was kept more as an object of curiosity than anything else." At the end of this year (we learn from the records) some powerful subject-chiefs threw up their allegiance to the Maharaja and tried to be independent of him. Further we find from the papers that in the monsoon of the year 1827,[47] Cholera—which about this period was raging in Hindusthan—reached the Punjab. Its effects on the Punjab and the adjoining countries were terrific. It devastated the cities of Lahore and Amritsar, claiming for its victim no less a man than General Boodh Singh, who had only a few months before done signal service in checking the terrible revolt of the Afghan fanatic, Syed Ahmed, near Attock—a brilliant military achievement for which Capt. Wade congratulated the Maharaja.[48] " This scourge," say the documents,[49] " extended quickly from the plains of the Punjab to Cashmere, when its progress was marked with increased devastation, about 10,000 persons having perished in the valley." To add to the calamity, " a severe earthquake[50] occurred there nearly at the same time, which overthrew many houses and buried many people in their ruins."

Ranjit Singh's love for horses.

22. Ranjit Singh's love for horses amounted almost to a passion and he maintained an enormous stud for his personal use, collected from all parts of India, Arabia and Persia. From the records,[51] we find that in making treaties with the vanquished foes and in punishing his refractory subordinate Chiefs, he was in the habit of demanding horses as one of the essential conditions. The records further enlighten us, what enormous amount of trouble he took between the years 1820 and 1828 to secure the horse " Leilee " of rare beauty from its owner, Yar Muhammad Khan, Governor of Peshawar, and how liberally he rewarded Ventura for ultimately securing the animal for him through the instrumentality of his friend, Sheikh Faiz. Ranjit Singh also secured another horse named " Zerd Kehar " from the Afghans of Pesha-

[46] For. Misc. vol. 206, p. 162.
[47] *Ibid*, pp. 169-71.
[48] For a complete history of Syed Ahmed the students are referred to *the History of the Punjab* by S. M. Latif, pp. 437-9; Pol. O. C., 1 Jul. 1831, No. 42.
[49] For. Misc. vol. 206, p. 169.
[50] *Ibid*, p. 170.
[51] *Ibid*, p. 156.

war in 1827. The Maharaja's peculiarity was so well-known to the Governor-General, Lord William Bentinck,[52] that on several occasions he presented beautiful horses to him.

The dress of Ranjit Singh.

23. In dress the Maharaja was scrupulously simple, though his court, which was an imitation of the Court of the Great Mughals, was thronged with "Chiefs and Nobles blazing with gold and jewels and dressed and armed in every conceivable variety of colour and fashion." In winter and spring he generally wore a warm dress of saffron-coloured Cashmere cloth and in the hot weather white Bengal Muslin without jewel or ornament. His liking for Bengal Muslin can be adduced from the fact that in the year 1832[53] the British Government presented 10 pieces of the finest Dacca Muslin to him. From the papers,[54] we also find that Benares *Kimkhabs* and other valuable wearing stuffs were not distasteful to him. The simplicity in dress of the Maharaja, even when attending his Court is thus described by Captain Osborne who was present at his Adinanagar Court in 1838:—"Cross-legged in a golden chair, dressed in simple white, wearing no ornaments but a single string* of enormous pearls round the waist and the celebrated Kohinoor or 'mountain of light' on his arm—the jewel rivalled, if not surpassed, in brilliancy by the glance of fire which every now and then shot from his single eye as it wandered restlessly round the circle—sat the 'Lion of the Punjab'."

The Dussera Festival.

24. On the festive occasion of the Dussera, which for the generality of Indian Chiefs is an occasion for profuse display of grandeur of dress, was for Ranjit Singh an occasion for holding grand military reviews. Capt. Wade who attended the Maharaja's celebration of this festival on the 16th October 1831 writes thus[55] to H. T. Prinsep, Secretary to the Board, on the 19th of that month:—"It was an interesting festival. The plain on which it was held was covered with troops which, after the proper ceremonies for the day, passed before the Maharaja and afforded me an excellent opportunity of seeing the whole of Sikh army and all the *Sirdars* and diplomatic agents attending His Highness' Court." Again in the letter which Shahamut Ali (*Munshi* of Capt. Wade) wrote to Capt. Wade on the 14th October 1837[56] about Ranjit Singh's *Dussera* festival held at 'Baba Nanak Ka Dehra' in that year, we

[52] Pol. O. C., 22 Jul. 1831, Nos. 23-4; 4 Nov. 1831, Nos. 76-8; 30 Dec. 1831, Nos. 42-4.
[53] Pol. O. C., 4 Jun. 1832, Nos. 4 and 7-8.
[54] Pol. O. C., 26 Aug. 1831, No. 57; 4 Nov. 1831, No. 52.
[55] Sec. O. C., 25 Nov. 1831, No. 50.
[56] Pol. O. C., 18 July 1838, No. 53; this document contains a very graphic description of the Maharaja's *Dussera* festival in the year 1837.
* Capt. Osborne speaks thus about this ornament:—"The Maharaja's string of pearls was, I think, handsomer than the diamond—Kohinoor. They are about 300 in number and literally the size of small marbles, all picked pearls and round, and perfect both in shape and colour."

find strong evidence of the Maharaja's predilection for military displays and not for mere spectacular exhibitions. "Soon after our arrival, the troops were ordered to pass on inspection. The Regiments N. I. of Mons. Ventura and of Mons. Court with bands of musicians playing at the head of each Regiment and followed by a man bearing the *Granth* (Sikh holy book) passed first and were preceded by the Regiments of cavalry under the command of Mons. Allard. About 200 *sowars* who were dressed in cuirasses were at the head of them. They were followed by a large train of horse artillery. After their Regiments had passed inspection Messrs. Allard and Court waited on His Highness. The former made a *nazar* of some new coins made of gold and silver and struck in France." The letter[57] of Capt. Wade to Mr. Prinsep, dated the 31st May 1831 proves that in his interviews with important European officials, Ranjit Singh took more delight in showing his guests the shooting-skill of his soldiers and officers than in displaying before them the grandeur of his wearing apparel. A careful study of the records[58] will also show that even amidst the pleasures of "nautch-girls and shining cups of wine" when talk and display of dress absorbed the attention of other men, Ranjit Singh preferred to converse with Sir David Ochterlony on military and commercial subjects such as the Amritsar treaty of 1809, the navigation of the Indus, and the state of his relations with Sind.[59]

Ranjit Singh's Religion.

25. Ranjit Singh's religion, as far as can be ascertained from the records, was the moral system propagated by the Sikh reformer, Guru Govind, greatly modified by Brahminical tenets. The following instances will illustrate this point:—

(*a*) On the birth of his son, Kharak Singh, in 1802[60] he went to bathe in the "pool of Tarentaren", near Amritsar—a tank sacred to the Sikhs. "This pool" according to Hunter "has the reputation of possessing miraculous powers on all persons afflicted with leprosy who can swim across it. He further richly ornamented the Sikh temple which was built by its side and overlaid it with plates of copper gilt."

(*b*) In the year 1803[61] he went on a pilgrimage to the Ganges at Hurdwar—the sacred city of the Hindus—which was then in the hands of the Mahrattas.

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[57] Pol. O. C., 1 Jul. 1831, No. 45.

[58] *Ibid*, No. 43.

[59] The records of 1833 deal *in extenso* with Ranjit Singh's attempt to promote the commercial growth of the Punjab by placing the system of transit duties in that country on a firm basis, by removing the vexatious taxes, by opening the Indus and the Sutlej and by the commercial treaties with the English (*vide* Sec. O. C., 4 Feb. 1833, Nos. 5-10; Sec. O. C., 23rd Apr. 1833, Nos. 14-19, etc.). We also find from Pol. O. C., 23rd May 1833, Nos. 19-20, that the Maharaja proposed to open a salt-depôt at Mithankote. See also Aitchison's *Treaties*, etc., Vol. II, 1863, pp. 240-50.

[60] For. Misc. vol. 206, p. 66.

[61] *Ibid*, p. 68.

(c) In the year 1815 Ranjit Singh presented a gilded roof to the Jwalamukhi temple at Kangra and in 1831 sent 125 rupees[62] as an offering to the shrine.

(d) In 1823[63] after the terrible Battle of Nowshera he went to the Golden Temple of Amritsar "to offer thanks-giving for his victory and to make a donation of a lakh of rupees to the Sikh priests."

(e) Capt. Wade,[64] who was present at his Court at Adinanagar in 1831, tells us that "about 1 P.M. he rises and passes an hour in hearing a portion of the *Granth* read out to him."

(f) In the year 1838[65] when Lord Auckland paid him a visit at Amritsar, the Maharaja went with him to attend the religious service at the Golden Temple.

(g) Lastly we find that when in the year 1839,[66] the shadow of death was fast creeping upon his paralysed body he ordered (though the order was never carried out) that the Kohinoor should be sent to the temple of Jaggannath at Puri.

These incidents tend to prove that whatever may have been the actual religious faith of Ranjit Singh, it was undoubtedly greatly influenced by the Brahminical cult. But that the Maharaja was not a religious bigot will be evidenced from the fact that he had also great faith in the prayers of Muhammadan *faqirs* and *darveshes*.[67]

His sense of superstition.

26. As a hard-hearted man of the world the Maharaja should have been above all weaknesses, yet at times we find he was a slave to superstition and put faith in omens, charms, and witchcraft. It appears from the records that in the course of his dealings with the Governor-General, Lord William Bentinck, in 1831[68] he ordered his court priests to consult the pages of the *Holy Granth* and his court astrologer to divine from the aspect of the stars whether the results would be favourable to him or not. Again we find that "in the year 1833 the Maharaja again fell ill. He offered a pair of shawls, 1,000 rupees in money and 25 pieces of crystallized sugar as a *nazar* to a Bairagi *Faqir* who lived on the banks of the Ravi to pray for his recovery. But these things were distributed among the poor by the order of the *Faqir*. On the night previous to the first day of the moon the Maharaja dreamt a dream. He saw a band of Sikhs dressed in black, with dreadful features,

[62] Pol. O. C., 1st July 1831, No. 42.
[63] For. Misc. vol. 206, p. 145.
[64] Pol. O. C., 1st July 1831, No. 45.
[65] *The Sikhs* by J. H. Gordon, p. 109.
[66] Sec. O. C., 4th December 1839, No. 78.
[67] *History of the Punjab*, by S. M. Latif, 1891, p. 466.
[68] Pol. O. C., 1st July 1831, No. 42.

speaking harshly to him. Ranjit Singh was highly perplexed at this and Brahmins and astrologers were consulted as to the interpretation of the dream. They declared after a reference to their holy books that the Sikhs whom he had seen in his dream were the soldiers of God (Nihangs) who had come to tell him that he had relinquished the religion of the *Guru* by marrying in that year Gul Bahar, a Muhammadan dancing-girl of Amritsar, and that unless atonement was made, the wrath of the *Guru* would not be averted. It was therefore resolved that the Maharaja should take 'the *Pahul*'[69] afresh and renew the faith of his ancestors by doing penance for his sin. The Maharaja allowed himself to be duly invested with 'the *Pahul*' of the *Guru* for the second time. It may, however, be pointed out that in accepting 'the *Pahul*' it was not the intention of the Maharaja to discard Gul Bahar, the charming Nautch girl of Amritsar." Captain Osborne has expressed some doubt as to the genuineness of the Maharaja's superstition. He says that "it is difficult to say whether his superstition is real or only a mask assumed to gratify and conciliate his people."

Ranjit Singh true to his treaty; offered bribes by the Secret Agents.

27. To his credit it must be said that after the conclusion of the Treaty of 1809 with the British, Ranjit Singh took every care to abide by its conditions. Though secret agents[70] from different Indian States strained their utmost between the years 1824 and 1826 by offer of large bribes[71] to tempt him to prove false to this treaty he continued true to its terms. The Jats of Bharatpur were so enraged that, according to General Gordon, they sent him women's garments as a mark of their dissatisfaction with his conduct. Again, we find from the papers of the year 1836[72] that when M. Antoine, who had been in the service of Begum Sombre requested Ranjit Singh "to take him as well as the Begum's band of musicians" and the other Indian Officers of her disbanded troops into his service, he consulted the British Government as "these were affairs connected with the East side of the Sutlej." We also find from the records of this year[73] that agreeably to the conditions of the treaty of 1809, the Maharaja, at the request of the British Govern-

[69] The ceremony of the 'Pahul' was as follows:—The novice, who must have reached the age of discrimination, stands with his hands joined in supplication and repeats after the priest the articles of his faith. Some sugar and water are stirred in a vessel with a double-edged dagger and the water is sprinkled on his face and person; he drinks the remainder and exclaims "Wah Guru" which complete the ceremony. At least five Sikhs must be present at the ceremony one being a priest. Women were sometimes, but not generally initiated after the above formula. "*The Punjab and North-West Frontier of India*" by An Old Punjabi—1878—page 12.

[70] For. and Pol. Misc. vol. 206, p. 159. We find from Pol. O. C., 9th May 1838, No. 47, that Nepal's agents used to come to the Court of Ranjit Singh in the disguise of *Faqirs*.

[71] Durjan Sal of Bharatpur offered Ranjit Singh 50 thousand rupees a day besides a large gratuity for the co-operation of his troops on the East of the Sutlej. (For. Misc. vol. 296, p. 159.)

[72] Pol. O. C., 2nd May 1836, Nos. 57-8.

[73] Pol. O. C., 28th November 1836, No. 19.

ment caused the arrest of two notorious *Thugs* who had after murdering a *Subadar* of the British Army entered into his military service at Peshawar in the corps of *Sirdar* Tej Singh under assumed names and sent them to Captain Wade at Ludhiana for punishment.

Ranjit Singh's efforts to perpetuate his friendship with the British.

28. The records[74] of the Imperial Record Department abound with papers which go to show how by means of friendly intercourse with British officials, presents, missions and letters, Ranjit Singh endeavoured to perpetuate his friendship with the English at home, as well as in India.

Adinanagar: the country-seat of Ranjit Singh.

29. No papers among the records give more detailed accounts of Ranjit Singh's Court, character, mode of life and pleasures than the letters of Capt. C. M. Wade, Political Assistant at Ludhiana, who visited the Maharaja at his summer villa at Adinanagar in the year 1831 and thus came in close touch with the Maharaja. In his letters[75] to H. T. Prinsep, Secretary to the Board, dated the 22nd, 25th, and 31st May of that year, he gives graphic accounts which "exhibit the Maharaja in three different situations of state, retirement and at the head of his troops." The following extract from his letter dated the 22nd May, 1831 describes very clearly the famous Adinanagar summer-seat:—"Adinanagar, which is near the hills of Nurpur is a town founded by Adina Beg Khan the last of the Muhammadan Governors of Lahore. Ranjit Singh has made it his retreat for some years past in the hot months, having been attracted to the place by the umbrageous groves with which it abounds and the freshness of air, imparted by a canal which pervades them. In the centre of these groves is the Maharaja's residence. The rest are occupied by the *Sirdars* of the Court and beyond them there are encampments of troops on all sides consisting of 'Ghorcheras',[76] his principal camp of infantry of eleven battalions, several brigades of horse artillery and the corps of Messrs. Allard and Court." Osborne, who also visited the Maharaja's country-seat in the year 1838, adds the following to the above description "The garden communicates through a handsome gateway with a fine level plain. A short distance in front of it is the parade-ground, between which and the gateway a small scarlet and gold-embroidered shawl-tent is always pitched. It is entirely open in front and here soon after dark, Ranjit Singh retires to rest, sleeping in the open air and guarded only by a few Sikh *Sipahis*."

[74] For. Misc. vol. 206, p. 168; Sec. O. C., 30 Apr. 1833, No. 11; Pol. O. C., 14 Nov, 1836, Nos. 7-9; Govr.-Genl.'s Sec. Despatch to the Court of Directors, dated Kurnul, 19th November 1831, paras. 34-41, etc.
[75] Pol. O. C., 1 July 1831, Nos. 42-5.
[76] The name of one of his 'corps.' Capt. Murray in his Political reports calls them *Ghorchurs*. (Hugel's *Travels in the Punjab*, p. 327, footnote.)

Ranjit Singh's courtesy.

30. Another extract from the same letter shews how courteous he was to his visitors. "After arriving at the place fixed for my residence at Adinanagar, I received a *Zyafat* of rupees 5,000 and 101 pots of sweet-meats besides bags of rice, *ghee* and other articles of entertainment......After a conversation on different subjects for about half an hour, during which he referred several times to the friendship existing between the two States, he called for *Attar* and gave me my dismissal." The following extract[77] from the letter of Shahamut Ali (*Munshi* of Capt. Wade) to Capt. Wade dated 'Baba Nanak ka Dehra', the 27th October 1837, gives another striking instance of the Maharaja's civility to his visitors. "In the meantime two trays containing some pieces of *khilat* were produced. For sometime I was at a loss to know for whom they are intended, but the Maharaja soon removed the doubt by ordering a necklace to be put on my neck, a pair of bangles on my hands and a *jigha* to be tied to my forehead, at the same time directing ten pieces of clothes to be made over to the charge of my own servant. I was absorbed in a deep thought to make out what His Highness meant by giving the *khilat* so unexpectedly, but I soon penetrated into his design that it signified for us *to take leave* without our representing to him any other case."

His daily life at Adinanagar.

31. The following extract from Capt. Wade's letter[78] to H. T. Prinsep, dated the 31st May 1831, gives us a clear picture of Ranjit Singh's daily life at Adinanagar. "In the hot weather the Maharaja goes out about 5 A.M., spends an hour or two in riding and inspecting his troops and then takes the first meal often without dismounting from his horse. About 9 A.M. he retires to his residence and holds a Court receiving reports, issuing orders to his officers and examining minutely into the financial accounts of his Government himself. At noon he reclines for an hour, having a Secretary by his side to write from his dictation, as different things requiring execution, cross his mind. About 1 P.M. he rises and passes an hour in hearing a portion of the 'Granth' read to him, after which he resumes his court, which lasts till the day begins to close when he either sends for a set of dancing-girls to beguile the time or secludes himself in meditation until his second repast. He goes to bed between 8 and 9 P.M. a Secretary still being in attendance, to whom he frequently dictates his orders in the night. In the cold weather he does not go abroad until near 9 A.M. His habits in other respects are the same with the exception of mounting and promenading his horse in the evening along the parterres of his garden."

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[77] Pol. O. C., 9 May 1838, No. 47.
[78] Pol. O. C., 1 Jul 1831, No. 45.

Social amenities.

32. The social amenities of life were not neglected, Ranjit Singh entertaining his friends on the most lavish scale and caring little for expense or trouble. The archives of the Government of India contain many interesting and amusing accounts of the gaieties at Adinanagar, which it is not the purpose of this paper to recount in detail.[79]

Ranjit Singh's first stroke of paralysis.

33. In the year 1835 he had his first stroke of paralysis. From the letter[80] of Capt. Wade to W. H. Macnaughten, dated Ludhiana, the 23rd August 1835, it appears that "early in the morning of the 17th August, Maharaja was seized with a paralysis of the face, right arm and side which made him lose his speech during the whole day, his countenance became considerably distorted, but on the following day he was comparatively better."

34. Before this attack which shattered his iron constitution, Ranjit Singh, according to the records,[81] "was in excellent health and was in complete possession of that activity of mind and body which had always been the prominent feature of his character." Faqir Azizuddin,[82] the Maharaja's devoted and favourite servant, thus speaks[83] of his master's health before the attack:—"His Highness enjoyed unusually good health; he took regular exercise daily, slept well, had an excellent appetite, his functions were natural, in short, he was like a pearl without a flaw or stain of any kind."

Medical treatment.

35. Dr. W. L. MacGregor, M.D., then in medical charge of the Political Agency of Ludhiana, who went to Amritsar on the 7th September 1835 to attend on Ranjit Singh thus speaks of the immediate cause of the Maharaja's paralytic attack in his letter to Wade, dated Amritsar, the 18th September 1835.[84] It is a very interesting document: "About a month ago the

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[79] The curious student is referred to the following records for fuller information: Pol. O. C., 1 Jul. 1831, No. 43; also *The Journal of Capt. H. G. Osborne*, Military Secretary to the Governor General, Earl of Auckland, pp. 85-6, 95, 189-92.

[80] Pol. O. C., 14 Sep. 1835, No. 33.

[81] Pol. O. C., 1 Jul. 1831, No. 42.

[82] Faqir Azizuddin was the Foreign Minister of the Maharaja and a most conspicuous figure of his Court. He was a 'Sufi,' a sect to which some best thinkers and poets of the East have belonged. He was a great humorist. When sent on a mission to Lord William Bentinck at Simla in 1831 he was asked by an English officer of which eye the Maharaja was blind. His answer was "The splendour of the Maharaja's face is such that I have never been able to look close enough to discover". On one occasion Ranjit Singh asked him whether he preferred the Hindu or Muhammadan religion. The Faqir's answer was: "I am a man floating in the midst of a mighty river. I turn my eyes towards the land but can distinguish no difference in either bank". He also helped Ranjit Singh in his military career and conquered the Fort of Tibee Lal Beg about 20 miles south of Pakpettan. (For. Mis. vol. 206, page 109.) For a detailed account of his life *see* Sir Lepel Griffin's *Ranjit Singh* (Rulers of India Series), pp. 117-22.

[83] Pol. O. C., 19th October 1835, No. 44.

[84] *Ibid.*

Maharaja retired to rest in in a chamber where his body was freely exposed to a free circulation of cool air, the body being at the time in rather a profuse state of perspiration. In the middle of the night he awoke suddenly and found himself unable to move his tongue, so as to articulate and his mouth distorted to a considerable degree. His attendants were alarmed at these symptoms and various remedies, chiefly aromatics, were prescribed by Faqir Azizuddin. By the aid of these, the Maharaja was soon able to articulate a little, his general health likewise suffered a visible change. There was a loss of appetite, some heaviness about the head, heat in the palms of the hands and soles of the feet; thirst, frequently urgent and a general despondency, and depression of spirits. These symptoms were present when I first saw him on the morning of the 8th instant, though in a less severe degree than they had been. The Maharaja has much aversion to the use of internal medicines; so that I experienced extreme difficulty in treating him. By the regulation of diet and regimen, gentle exercise every morning and occasional laxatives, with the external application of stimulating embrocations he has been daily improving. He now speaks with fluency, his enunciation being correct, full and sonorous, the wryness of his mouth is hardly perceptible to a casual visitor, his general health likewise improves; the thirst is moderate; he sleeps, in general, well; the appetite is still indifferent, there is no sensation of heat in the hands or feet unless his rest be disturbed. Complete recovery is retarded by the use of opium to which the Maharaja has been addicted for a long time and which, at this time of his life, it would not be prudent to withdraw too suddenly." It transpires from the records[85] that on the evening of the 3rd October 1835 Doctor MacGregor " left the Maharaja in a convalescent state and returned to Ludhiana."

Second stroke of paralysis.

36. In the beginning of the year 1837[86] Ranjit Singh had a second stroke of paralysis on his right side which continued for six months. On this occasion he did not lose the power of speech. The joint opinions of Dr. D. MacLeod and Dr. A. Wood on the Maharaja's health as embodied in the paper dated the 15th March, 1837, will be found in the Political O. C., 22 May 1837, No. 74 A.

Mother of Kharak Singh dies; Ranjit Singh attacked by an elephant.

37. Misfortunes followed thick and fast. A year after his second stroke of paralysis, his favourite wife, the mother of Kharak Singh, whom he endearingly called by the name of 'Nakahun'[87]—she being a daughter of the family of 'Nakkai' Chiefs—breathed her last on the 20th July 1838.

[85] Pol. O. C., 2 Nov. 1835, No. 55.
[86] Sec. O. C., 7 Aug. 1839, No. 10.
[87] Pol. O. C., 9 Jan. 1839, No. 29.

Scarcely a week had elapsed when his own life was seriously threatened by the attack of a mad elephant. Let the records[88] tell the story of these two events:—"On the 20th July 1838, Raja Dhiyan Singh reported the demise of Kunwar Kharak Singh's mother occasioned by headache and pains in her sides. The Maharaja was greatly afflicted on hearing the intelligence and ordered several courtiers to proceed to the house of 'Nakahun' with 3,000 rupees, 200 ducats as well as two pieces of silk, besides a quantity of sandal and other articles to assist Kharak Singh in performing the funeral rites and to see the corpse burnt in his garden situated to the north of Anarkali." The following extract describes his encounter with the mad elephant:—"His Highness on the morning of the 24th July 1838 went out as usual for an airing. He was riding in a *Khasa* (a kind of litter) along with Jawahir Singh, the brother of Raja Hira Singh. On his way when he reached to the streamlet, opposite to the fort, he was attacked by a furious elephant which had been taken out for forage. The bearers of the *Khasa* being alarmed, dropped the *Khasa* on the spot and ran off to a distance, the orderly *sowars* spread themselves also here and there and the *Khasa* wherein the Maharaja sat was entirely left alone. The elephant soon broke some of the glasses of it and the Maharaja shrank into one of its corners. Sirdar Atar Singh who observed what was passing, came forward and gave the animal a cut on his trunk with his sword. On receiving the wound the elephant took to flight in another direction. The Maharaja then offered thanksgiving to the Almighty for having had such a providential escape and at the same time observed to Raja Dhiyan Singh that he was saved alone by the grace of God, otherwise his life had been lost. Five thousand rupees were ordered to be distributed in charity to the poor on the occasion of the Maharaja's safety."

Third paralytic stroke.

38. His third paralytic stroke was in the month of December 1838[89] and this ended his great career. It was greatly due to his excesses during Lord Auckland's visit to him at Ferozepur in that year. On this occasion the Maharaja placed himself under the treatment of Dr. J. Steele who was in that year on special duty at Ferozepur. The Doctor on reaching Lahore on the morning of the 21st April 1839 found the Maharaja in a most unhealthy house. No reason can be traced from the records as to why the afflicted Maharaja was living in that house when he could have used his magnificent palaces at Lahore, Cashmere, Multan and Adinanagar. Dr. Steele thus graphically describes the wretched state of the house:—[90] "His house is situated close on the edge of a filthy canal from which the roads are constantly wetted and the surrounding grounds kept in a swampy state. It is in an

[88] Pol. O. C., 9 Jan. 1839, No. 29. (*Vide Abstract of Intelligence from Lahore, dated* from the 20th to the 24th July 1838.)
[89] Sec. O. C., 7 Aug. 1839, No. 10.
[90] *Ibid.*

atmosphere sufficient to create disease among the most healthy. He sleeps in a small tent adjoining which (within 10 yards) there is a small patch of rice cultivation. This is constantly under water. I need not say that the smell arising from the damp earth and confined air is anything but pleasant. The house consists of two small rooms, in each room there is but one door communicating with the open air and the door of the larger room is only about 3 feet by 2½. This room is kept dark to which he retires during the heat of the day. It will be observed that the fresh air cannot circulate in these rooms and in addition to the constant unpleasant exhalation from the damp floor and walls, the rooms are constantly crowded with his followers." At the doctor's suggestion the Maharaja was removed[91] to a healthier abode on the 9th May 1839.

39. Doctor Steele carefully examined the Maharaja from the 22nd April to 2nd May 1838 and his report on the Maharaja's health is embodied in the Sec. O. C. 7th August 1839 No. 10. The concluding portion of the Doctor's report runs thus:—" Is the Maharaja likely to live long? I think 'not long.' He is in that state that the least unfavourable accidental occurrence in the form of disease may be decisive and likely to be so. He may live for a short time, perhaps for a few months or even a year, but the latter period, I think, improbable, although I consider that he has still some remaining energy and the natural powers of his constitution to be great and his rallying powers, from what I have heard, to be extraordinary."

Ranjit Singh's death.

40. Within two months of the report of Doctor Steele, Ranjit Singh passed away peacefully at Lahore on the evening of the 27th June 1839,[92] 'retaining his mental faculties unimpaired to the last.' It appears from the records that " to avoid the sudden effect on his troops and the population, the news of the Maharaja's death was at first attempted to be kept secret."

41. " During the few last days of his illness " the documents say " prayers were said and offerings were sent to the different shrines for his recovery, and His Highness bestowed in charity—money, jewels and other property to the value of nearly 50 lakhs of rupees.[93] Among his jewels, he directed the well-known Kohinoor[94] to be sent to the temple of Jagannath at Puri, muttering at the same time the great truth that " no one carried with him his worldly wealth and that such a bequest would perpetuate my name."

42. The scene that took place in the *harem* after the death of the Maharaja is thus described by the *Punjabi Akhbar*[95] of the 27th June 1839 :—

[91] Sec. O. C., 7th August 1839, No. 10.
[92] Sec. O. C., 4th December 1839, No. 78.
[93] *Ibid.*
[94] *Ibid;* but Misser Beli Ram who was in charge of the Treasury, objected to its delivery on the ground of its being " State " property.
[95] Pol. O. C., 24th July 1839, Nos. 13-14; *See* also Sec. O. C., 4th December 1839, Nos. 78-9.

"The death of the Maharaja being known, the Ranees (queens), Kunwar Kharak Singh (the Maharaja's son), Raja Dhiyan Singh (the Maharaja's Prime Minister), Jemadar Khusal Singh and others raised their cries and lamentations, tearing their hair, casting earth on their heads, throwing themselves on the ground and striking their heads against bricks and stones. This continued during the night by the side of the corpse. Every now and then looking towards the corpse their shrieks were shriller. The gates of the Fort were shut but Kunwar Kharak Singh ordered the shops in the city to be opened and business to be carried on." We find, however, that "the people had closed their shops and had shewn every mark of grief at the death of their chief."[96]

43. In the *Akhbar* of the 28th June 1839 and in some other documents the following account of the funeral ceremony is given:—The Maharaja's body having been bathed with the Ganges waters, dressed in rich clothes and decorated with ornaments was placed on an adorned sandalwood bier (bawan) in shape like a ship. It was wrought with gold and the sails and flags were made of the richest silk. The bier was carried by a number of men in procession in the garden at Dhoolkote situated in the Fort, near the Huzuri gate, adjoining the Gooroo Argin's residence. Several notable men of the kingdom threw costly shawls on the bier. Rani Koondun (commonly known as Rani "Gadun" or "Guddhun"), daughter of Raja Sansar Chand of Katoch, Rani Hurderee, daughter of the Raja of Nurpur, Rani Raj Kour, daughter of *Sirdar* Jai Singh of Chynpur—about 7 miles from Amritsar and Rani Baawallee (*sic*) came out of the harem and approached the corpse and resolved to burn themselves with their husband. For the first time during their lives these Ranis came out unveiled with richest apparel and jewels worth many *lakhs* of rupees on their person and accompanied the procession bestowing every now and then some portion of their jewels and ornaments to the singers and the Brahmins. In front of each Rani, at a distance of two or three paces, walked a man with his face turned towards her and moving backwards. He held a mirror before the Rani in front of whom he walked that she might see that her features were unaltered and that her resolution to sacrifice her life had no effect on her appearance. After the Ranis followed seven slave-girls. All seemed quite indifferent to the awful fate which awaited them, and which, indeed, they had themselves sought.

44. The drums beat mournfully, the musicians sang melancholy dirges and the sound of their instruments spread gloom throughout the whole assembly. At last the bier reached the funeral pile. It was constructed of sandalwood and aloe in the form of square, six feet high. The ascent to the pile was by means of a ladder. On the pole were strewed inflammable substances, such as cotton seeds, etc. The high officers of the State first ascended the pile and helped in gently removing the royal body from the bier

[96] Sec. O. C., 4th December 1839, No. 78 (para. 9).

and respectfully placing it in the middle of the pile. Rani Koondun sat down by the side of the corpse and placed the head of the deceased on her lap while the other 3 Ranis with seven slave-girls seated themselves around with every mark of complacency on their countenances. Raja Dhiyan Singh prepared to burn himself with the Maharaja, and it was with very great difficulty that he was persuaded to refrain from sharing the fate of the *Satees*. Thereupon the Raja proposed to leave the world and go to Benares after a year, which was complied with. Kunwar Kharak Singh also did his utmost to dissuade the *Satees* to relinquish their intention but they did not heed the appeals of the Kunwar nor of the other Chiefs. Rani Koondun taking Raja Dhiyan Singh by the hand and placing it on the breast of the corpse made him swear never to be a traitor to Kunwar Kharak Singh. Kharak Singh was, in like manner, made to swear to be led away by no misrepresentations of interested parties to renounce Raja Dhiyan Singh; and the torment due for the slaughter of a thousand kine were imprecated on him who should violate his oath.

Affliction of Raja Dhiyan Singh.

45. At 10 o'clock approaching, the time fixed by the Brahmins, fire was set to each corner of the funeral pile.[97] In a moment the whole mass was a complete blaze, the flames of which ascended to a prodigious height. As the flames shot up, the faces of these devoted women, still calm and serene, were visible for the last time. A moment so and smoke and fire enveloped them. In a little while the sacrifice was consummated—the great Maharaja, his four wives and seven slave-girls were a holocaust. A small cloud appeared in the sky over the burning pile and having shed a few drops passed away. Raja Dhiyan Singh attempted four times to jump into the burning pile but was withheld by the mourning crowd. After the ceremony was over, Kunwar Kharak Singh and other Chiefs bathed themselves in the Ravi and returned to the Huzuri Garden.* Fifteen pairs of *shawls* and 20 *ducats* were given to the singers of the holy hymns of Baba Nanak and a thousand rupees were distributed among the poor.

46. The huge pile continued to smoulder for two days. On the third day the bones and ashes of the dead were picked out by the members of the royal household and were put in separate urns. Preparations were then made to send them to the Ganges at Hurdwar. The remains of the Maharaja and

[97] Capt. Osborne in his *Journal* says that the Chief Rani herself set fire to the pile; but Syad Muhammad Latif in his *History of the Punjab* says that it was the Maharaja's son, Kharak Singh.

* Near this garden stands Ranjit Singh's mausoleum, a curious mixture of Hindu and Muhammadan ideas, being a compromise between a Hindu *Samadh* and a Muhammadan tomb. In the centre is a raised stone platform on which is a marble lotus flower, surrounded by eleven smaller ones. The centre flower covers some ashes of the Maharaja, the others those of four wives and seven slave girls who perished on his funeral pyre.

those of the four *Ranis* were placed in different decorated palanquins to be conveyed by the guards to their final destination. As the procession passed the head-quarters of the districts in British territory, due military honours were paid to his ashes.[98] We find in the letter[99] of H. Torrens, Deputy Secretary to the Government of India, to the Deputy Collector of Customs of Shaharanpore, dated Simla, the 4th July 1839, that the Government issued strict orders "to all the officers of Customs forbidding their interfering in any way with the Sikh priests, *Sirdars* and others who would cross the British frontier with the ashes of the late Maharaja." Records[100] further enlighten us that the palanquin containing the remains of the Maharaja passed through Ludhiana after crossing the Sutlej on the 11th July 1839 and that Mr. M. P. Edgeworth, Assistant Political Agent of that place, laid two pairs of shawls valued at Rs. 475[101] on the conveyance as a mark of respect.

47. The Governor General, Lord Auckland, also lost no time in shewing due honour to the memory of the late Maharaja. The following General Order, dated Simla (Political Department), the 4th July 1839[102], was issued:—"The Right Hon'ble the Governor-General having this day received from the Offg. Political Agent at Loodhiana official announcement of the melancholy intelligence of the demise of His Highness Maharaja Runjeet Singh, Ruler of the Punjab, on the 27th ultimo is pleased in testimony of his deep regret for the loss of this faithful and highly valued Ally of the British Government to direct that minute guns to the number of 60 corresponding with the years of the deceased be fired from the ramparts of the Forts of Delhi, Agra and Allahabad, and at all the principal stations of the army throughout the North-Western Provinces. The ceremony will be also observed at the Frontier stations of Loodhiana and Ferozepore." A mission of condolence was also sent[103] to Kharak Singh at Lahore "consisting of the Offg. Political Agent at Ludhiana and some officers of his personal staff."

Conclusion.

48. So lived and died the "Lion of the Punjab." "It was his extraordinary talent alone", says Marshman, "which, reared the edifice of Sikh greatness and if it had not been hemmed in by the irresistible power of the East India Company would undoubtedly have established a new and magnificent empire in Hindoosthan. By indefatigable exertions he succeeded in

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[98] Pol. O. C., 14 Aug. 1839, No. 34.
[99] Pol. O. C., 4 Sep. 1839, No. 79.
[100] Pol. O. C., 14 Aug. 1839, No. 34.
[101] Pol. O. C., 14 Aug. 1839, No. 36.
[102] Pol. O. C., 11 Sep. 1839, No. 96.
[103] Sec. O. C., 4 Dec. 1839, No. 80.

creating an army 80,000[104] strong with 300[105] pieces of cannon, superior in discipline, valour and equipment to any force which had ever been seen in India under Native colours." When he died the Sikh power in India was at its zenith and "then it exploded", says General Sir J. H. Gordon, "disappearing in fierce but fading flames."

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[104] Ranjit Singh's army was composed of:—

(1) The French legion, clothed and exercised in the European manner	8,000	men.
(2) *Gorchelis* and *Gorcher Khas*, armed with muskets, wearing armour, and paid either in money or lands	4,000	,,
(3) Disciplined battalions	14,940	,,
(4) Cavalry in various fortresses	3,000	,,
(5) Infantry *Puttuns* (Regiments), equipped variously	23,950	,,
(6) Contingent of the *Sirdars* in Cavalry	27,014	,,
	80,904	men.

To this 34,014 horses and 101 elephants may be added.
For further information on this subject the reader is referred to Persian Ms. No. 622 of the Khuda Bakhsh Library at Bankipur.

[105] According to Captain Murray the number of cannons were 376 besides 370 *Jinjals* or long pieces of ordnance which used to be carried by camels. For fuller details *see* Pol. O. C., 14th Feb. 1838, Nos. 57-8.

Minutes of the Proceedings of the Members' Meeting of the Indian Historical Records Commission held at the Punjab Record Office on Tuesday, the 24th November 1925.

Present:

1. Sir EVAN COTTON, Kt., C.I.E. (in the chair)
2. Mr J. J. COTTON, M.A., I.C.S.
3. Mr R. B. RAMSBOTHAM, M.A., M.B.E., Principal, Hooghly College
4. Major H. L. O. GARRETT, M.A., I.E.S., Keeper of the Records of the Government of the Punjab (co-opted)
5. Mr A. C. WOOLNER, M.A., Dean of University Instruction, the Punjab University (co-opted)
6. Rai Bahadur Pandit SHEO NARAIN, Advocate, High Court, Lahore, and President of the Punjab Historical Society (co-opted)
7. LALA SITARAM KOHLI, M.A., Lecturer in History, Government College, Lahore (co-opted)
8. Monsieur A. SINGARAVELOU PILLAI, Curator of the Old Records of the French India, Pondicherry (co-opted)
9. Mr J. M. MEHTA, Baroda (co-opted)
10. Dr PRABHU DUTT SHASTRI, M.A., Ph.D., I.E.S., Professor, Presidency College, Calcutta (co-opted)
11. Mr R. D. MEHTA, C.I.E., Calcutta (co-opted)
12. Mr A. F. M. ABDUL ALI, F.R.S.L., M.A., Secretary.

I. Review of the action taken on the Resolution of the Commission passed at their Seventh Meeting.

A conspectus of the action taken by the Government of India and the local governments and the Indian States on the resolutions of the Indian Historical Records Commission passed at their seventh meeting was placed on the table.

The action taken on Resolutions 2—8 was approved by the Commission. With regard to Resolution I it was unanimously agreed that more money was wanted for the Historical Exhibition in order to increase its educative value.

It was resolved:—

Resolution 1.—That the Commission re-affirms its previous recommendation to the Government of India that an additional grant of Rs. 2,000 in the

Commission's budget allotment be made in order to meet the expenses of the Historical Exhibition and the contingent charges of the Commission.

II. The Secretary pointed out that Major H. L. O. Garrett was the only corresponding member of the Commission in the Punjab and suggested the appointment of all the local co-opted members as corresponding members.

It was resolved:—

Resolution 2.—That the local co-opted members of the 8th session, namely:—

1. Mr A. C. Woolner, M.A.
2. Mr J. R. Firth, M.A.
3. Lala Sitaram Kohli, M.A.
4. Rai Bahadur Pandit Sheo Narain

be recommended to the Government of India for appointment as corresponding members of the Commission for the Punjab centre.

III. The Secretary informed the Commission of the vacancy caused among the corresponding members for the Madras centre by the death of Dewan Bahadur Swamikannu Pillai.

It was resolved:—

Resolution 3.—That Mr C. S. Srinivasachari, M.A., Professor of History, Pachaiyappa's College, Madras, be recommended for appointment as corresponding member for the Madras centre in place of Dewan Bahadur Swamikannu Pillai, deceased.

IV. Rai Bahadur Pandit Sheo Narain having pointed out the importance of the documents known as the *Kaifiati Dehī* prepared during the early settlements for the villages in the Punjab as containing first hand material for social and political history of those areas,

It was resolved:—

Resolution 4.—That the Punjab Government be requested to issue instructions for the preservation of the documents known as *Kaifiati Dehi* prepared during the early settlements for each village in the province, and that on the occasion of the revision of settlements the *Kaifiats* of the preceding settlements may be transposed to the records of the revised settlements.

V. The Secretary placed on the table a letter from Professor D. V. Potdar, B.A., of New Poona College, Poona, and a corresponding member of the Commission, complaining that he could not get access to the Peshwas' records at Poona. After some discussion the Secretary was directed to inform Professor Potdar that the Commission cannot recommend any general access to the Peshwas' Daftar until the records preserved there are fully classified.

VI. Place of the next meeting:—

Resolution 5.—That the next session of the Commission be held either at Rangoon or at Lucknow.

VII. The following papers were laid on the table for the information of the members of the Commission:—

(*i*) Letter from Mr D. G. E. Hall, Professor of History, University of Rangoon, dated 3rd January 1925, about the ancient records in Burma and the activities of the Burma Research Society.

(*ii*) Letter from Mr D. G. E. Hall, Professor of History, University of Rangoon, dated 1st September 1925, on the same subject and enclosing a note on the numerous and important Talaing sources of the Burmese history to be found in Bernard Free Library by Professor Pe Maung Tin, Head of the Department of Oriental Studies in the University of Rangoon, and also a list of some of the collections showing the nature of the manuscripts.

(*iii*) Letter no. 425 B, dated 30th May 1925, and letter no. 425-891 H, dated the 18th August 1925, from the Government of Bombay to the Department of Education, Health and Lands, on the compilation of a History of the Mahrattas told from contemporary documents.

(*iv*) Annual Reports of the different Record Offices.

APPENDIX A.

Conspectus of the action taken by the Government of India, and the local Governments and the Native States on the Resolutions of the Indian Historical Records Commission passed at their 7th Meeting.

Resolutions of the Commission.	Orders of the Government of India.	Action taken by Local Governments or Native States.	REMARKS.
Resolution I.—That it be very strongly recommended to the Government of India that the budget grant of the Indian Historical Records Commission be increased by Rs. 2,000 for meeting the expenses of the Historical Exhibition and contingent charges of the Commission.	The Government of India could not raise the budget grant of the Commission from Rs. 4,000 to Rs. 6,000 during the financial year 1925-26. The matter will be considered in connection with the budget proposals for 1926-27.	...	
Resolution II.—That the attention of the Governments of Bombay and Madras be drawn to the policy of the Government of India regarding the preservation of historical documents, and that the destruction of all records previous to 1856 be discontinued, and that the said records be classified.	The resolution has been brought to the notice of the Governments of Madras and Bombay. Their attention has also been invited to the Resolution of the Department of Education, Health and Lands, No. 639-Genl., dated the 7th June 1923, which laid down that the Company Records in the Imperial Record Department should be divided into three classes :— (*a*) Documents of historical importance including materials for social and economic history ; (*b*) Documents of personal and antiquarian interest ; (*c*) All other documents ; and that pending the result of sorting no papers should be destroyed.	...	The Curator of the Madras Record Office asked for and was supplied with particulars about the method of classification adopted in the Imperial Record Department.
Resolution III.—That the Military Department be requested to state for the information of the Commission their policy as to the preservation, classification and publication of their records at Bombay and Madras.	The Army Department have explained that none of their old records are at Bombay or Madras.		

APPENDIX A.

Conspectus of the action taken by the Government of India and the local Governments and the Native States on the Resolutions of the Indian Historical Records Commission passed at their 7th Meeting—contd.

Resolutions of the Commission.	Orders of the Government of India.	Action taken by Local Governments or Native States.	REMARKS.
Resolution IV.—That this Commission recommends to local Governments to increase their expenditure on the publication of their public records.	The resolution has been brought to the notice of the local Governments.	...	
Resolution V.—This Commission recommends to the Government of Bombay that an expert be placed on special duty to prepare a handlist of the unsorted and unclassified *rumals* in the Poona Daftar.	The resolution has been brought to the notice of the Government of Bombay.	...	
Resolution VI.—This Commission recommends to the Government of Bombay that a calendar of the Poona Residency Records be prepared.	The resolution has been brought to the notice of the Government of Bombay.	...	
Resolution VII.—That the Government of Bombay be requested to print selected inscriptions from the graveyards of European Settlements previous to 1800.	The resolution has been brought to the notice of the Government of Bombay.	...	The lists of the European burial grounds with inscriptions on tombs prior to 1857, which were with the Secretary to the Commission, have been returned to the Government of Bombay for examination by the local Government with a view to selected inscriptions being printed by them.

APPENDIX A.

Conspectus of the action taken by the Government of India and the local Governments and the Native States on the Resolutions of the Indian Historical Records Commission passed at their 7th Meeting—concld.

Resolutions of the Commission.	Orders of the Government of India.	Action taken by Local Governments or Native States.	REMARKS.
The Secretary was asked to write for a list of the inscriptions on the tombs in the Surat cemeteries which were wanting in the lists furnished by the Government of Bombay.	......	...	The Secretary wrote to the Government of Bombay on the subject and the local Government have deputed the Executive Engineer, Surat and Broach Division, to prepare the list.
Resolution VIII.—That the next session of the Commission be held at Lahore on a date to be fixed by the Secretary in consultation with the Government of India, but not later than the middle of November 1925; and that henceforth the meetings be held in November or December every year, instead of January.	The Government of India accepted the resolution.	...	

APPENDIX B.

List of corresponding Members of the Indian Historical Records Commission.

Names.	Centres.
Khan Sahib Maulvi Zafar Hasan, B.A., Superintendent, Muhammadan and British Monuments, Archæological Survey, Northern Circle, Agra.	Agra
Rao Bahadur D. B. Parasnis. Mr. S. T. Shephard, Editor, "Times of India," Bombay Mr. H. G. Rawlinson, M.A., I.E.S., Principal Deccan College, Poona. (*Appointed member of the commission.*) Mr. D. V. Potdar, B.A., Professor, New Poona College, Poona. Sardar G. N. Majumdar, M.L.C., Poona.	Bombay and Poona
Dr. Narendra Nath Law, M.A., Ph.D. Reverend H. Hosten, S.J. Shamsul-Ulama, Khan Bahadur Maulvi Hidayat Hussain. Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar, M.A., Ph.D., Charmichæl Professor of Ancient Indian History, Calcutta University. Mr. Badruddin Ahmad, B.A., Assistant Registrar, Appellate Side, Calcutta High Court.	Calcutta
Mr. A. F. Rahaman, B.A. (Oxon), M.L.C. Mr. J. C. Sinha, M.A., Reader in Economics, Dacca University. Hakim Habibur-Raman, Member of the Dacca University Court.	Dacca
Dr. Balkrishna, M.A., Ph.D., Principal, Rajaram College, Kolhapur.	Kolhapur.
Major H. L. O. Garrett, M.A., I.E.S., Keeper of the Records of the Government of the Punjab, Lahore. Mr. A. C. Woolner, M.A., Dean of University Instruction, Lahore. Mr. J. R. Firth, M.A., Professor, Government College, Lahore. Lala Sitaram Kohli, M.A., Lecturer, Government College, Lahore. Rai Bahadur Pandit Sheo Narain, President, Punjab Historical Society, Lahore.	Lahore

Names.	Centres.
Dr. Radha Kumud Mukherji, M.A., Ph.D., Professor of Indian History, Lucknow University.	Lucknow
Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, M.A., Ph.D., M.R.A.S., F.R.H.S. Dr. John Mathai, B.L., B. Litt., D.Sc., M.L.C., Mr. M. Ratnaswami, M.L.C. Mr. C. W. E. Cotton, C.I.E., I.C.S. Mr. C. Hayavadana Rao. Professor Srinivasachari, M.A., Professor of History, Pachaiyappa's College, Madras.	Madras
Mr. J. F. W. James, I.C.S., Registrar of the High Court of Judicature, Patna. Mr. J. N. Samaddar, B.A., F.R.E.S., F.H.S., Professor of History, Patna College.	Patna
Monsieur Singaravelou Pillai, Curator of the Old Records of French India, Pondicherry.	Pondicherry
Mr. D. G. E. Hall, M.A., F.R. Hist. S., I.E.S., Professor of History and Fellow of the University of Rangoon.	Rangoon

APPENDIX C.

Descriptive List of Historical Manuscripts, Paintings, etc., exhibited at Lahore in connection with the 8th meeting of the Indian Historical Records Commission.

From the Imperial Record Department

1. From Raghunath Rao. Thanks the Governor-General for his sending reinforcements to the Bombay Government in order to assist the writer.

   [Bears the writer's signature, 16 Dec. 1778, No. 144.]

2. Umdatul Mulk Asafud Daulah Wala Jah Aminul Hind Zafar Jang, Nawab of Arcot. Reports that the English authorities took no steps to prevent Tipu Sultan's attack upon Poonamallee though they were informed of the danger beforehand.

   [29 Jan. 1792, No. 49.]

3. From Nana Farnavis, minister of the Peshwa. Asks the Governor-General to send military assistance to the Peshwa and the Nizam against Tipu.

   [Bears the seal of Nana Farnavis, 14 Nov. 1785, No. 94.]

4. From the Peshwa (Narayan Rao). Says that he will abide by the terms of the treaty and asks the Governor-General to do the same.

   [12 Dec. 1778, No. 138.]

5. From Madhuji Bhonsla. In view of the impending war with the French, the Governor-General sent under Colonel Leslie, reinforcements to assist the Bombay Government and requested the Bhonsla to let them pass through their territories. The Bhonsla informs the Governor-General that he has taken adequate measures for the safe passage of the Army.

   [10 May 1778, No. 32.]

6. Letter received on the 5th December 1778 (no 127) from Balaji Pundit.
7. Letter received on the 27th January 1796 (no 61) from Raja Tikait Roy.
8. Letter received on the 24th May 1809 (no 266) from Maharaja Ranjit Singh.
9. News of Ranjit Singh's Court, 1825 (in Persian).
10. Political O. C. 2 November 1835, no 55 regarding Dr Mac Gregor's report on Maharaja Ranjit Singh's health.

From the Imperial Record Department—*contd.*

11. Secret O. C. 9 January 1839, no 29 regarding the death of Kharak Singh's mother and the attack on Ranjit Singh by a mad elephant.
12. Secret O. C. 7 August 1839, no 10 regarding report of Dr Steele on the Maharaja's health.
13. Secret O. C. 4 December 1839, nos 78-9 containing the news of the last days of Maharaja Ranjit Singh.
14. Secret O. C. 23 April 1833, no 14 regarding the regulations for the opening of the Navigation on the river Indus and the Sutlej.
15. A manuscript showing various styles of Persian Calligraphy. (Illuminated folios.)
16. A geographical sketch of the Punjab together with a history of the origin, life and progress of Raja Ranjit Singh, 1830, by H. T. Prinsep.
17. Addresses presented to H. E. the Right Hon. Viscount Canning, Viceroy and Governor-General of India, by the Chiefs of Peshawar and the Rajas of the Punjab on the occasion of his visit to those places in 1839.
18. C. M. Wade's report on the Punjab and adjacent provinces forming the territories of Maharaja Ranjit Singh together with a historical sketch of that Chief, 1814.
19. Original letter from Her Majesty the Queen Victoria to the King of Burma on the occasion of his accession to the throne (Bears the original signature of Her Majesty the Queen Victoria.)
20. A book exhibited as a fine specimen of inlaying work. This book was hopelessly damaged by larvae and had almost become a solid mass of paper.
21. A repaired ms. vol. illustrating how the isolated and damaged sheets of manuscript volumes can be mended and made up into sections with guards to have a durable and flexible binding.
22. Mss illustrating evil effect of using white tracing paper in repairing important documents. The tracing papers were subsequently peeled off and replaced by Mousseline de soie (chiffon.)
23. Tibetan wood block. It is a block to print, on paper or cotton, a charm invoking the protection of Jambhala, the god of riches. The upper part consists of a gem in the centre being the emblem of the god, and surrounded by Sanskrit Mantras in Tibetan script. Under the charm itself, is cut out, in Tibetan, an explanation of the charm, with directions as to its use.
24. Lahore seals and roll of their impressions. These belonged to Maharaja Ranjit Singh, his sons and officers and are 19 in number.
25. Wax impression of a seal of Lord Amherst, Governor-General, 1823-8. It is a large mould in Persian character and its contents, conceived in

From the Imperial Record Department—*concld.*

the ideal oriental style, would read as follows in English: "Chief of Chiefs of exalted rank, personal adviser to His Majesty the King of England, full of bounties, whose court is as high as Saturn, the most noble of nobles Lord Amherst the Valiant Governor-General and high administrator of the English Company belonging to the Empire of India. Year 1823 of the Christian era."

From the Imperial Library

26. Panorama of the city of Lahore. (Painted in water-colour 1840.)
27. Lucknow on the river Goomty. By Wm. Daniel, March 1835.
28. Waqiat-i-Kashmir History of Kashmir from the oldest times down to A. D. 1747. By Muhammad Azam.
29. An old Persian Map of Grand Trunk Road from Delhi to Kandahar.
30. Bolaqi Das's Muraqqa-i-Jahan Numa, containing portraits of all the Mughal Emperors down to Bahadur Shah.

From Rai Mani Lal Nahar Bahadur, Calcutta

PAINTINGS.

31. A lady with garlands. (Hyderabad style.)
32. A yogi (Siyah Kalam, Indo-Persian.)
33. Dwadash Rashi Chakra (Patna style.)
34. Jaina Jati and Shrawak. (Guru and follower.)
35. Morning star. (Modern style, Tagore School.)
36. Charak Puja in Behar (Early nineteenth century, Patna style.)

From Mr Bahadur Singh Singhi, Calcutta

37. Album containing portraits of the Ghori kings, prepared under the orders of the Emperor Shah Jahan for his Imperial Library.
38. Album of the portraits of the Emperors and other scions of the House of Timur, beginning from Timur to Bahadur Shah II, the last Mughal Emperor of Delhi.

From Mr S. K. Nahar, Calcutta

PAINTINGS.

39. Picture depicting Indian Polo.
40. Indian Battle scene.

From Mr A. Ghosh, M.A., B.L. (Calcutta)

PAINTINGS.

41 Raja Raj Singh of Chamba (A. D. 1764-94). Conquered Basohli and Kishtwar and was killed in battle near Merti in Kangra fighting against Sansar Chand Katoch, the famous Raja of Kangra.

42. Raja Sansar Chand Katoch (Raja of Kangra).

43. Raja Fateh Singh.

44. Maharaja Ranjit Singh.

45. Raziya Sultana by Ram.

46. Sher Shah.

47. Zebunnisa Begam.

48. Jahangir and Nur Jahan hunting.

49. Jahangir presenting Sultan Parwez (p. 157 of Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri, Vol. I, Rogers and Beveridges' Translation) with a rosary of pearls (from a mss of Jahangirnama.)

50. Darbar of Humayun.

51. Akbar drinking at a well, by Chaterman, a Court painter of Akbar.

52. Jahangir and Nur Jahan.

53. Dara Shikoh learning Calligraphy.

54. Nadir Shah receiving the jewels from the Mughal Emperor after the sack of Delhi.

55. Seven portraits of the Moghul Kings of Delhi.

From Sahibzada Ghulam Husain Shah (of the Mysore family)

56. The Mughal Emperors (Painting.)

From Mr Muhammad Isa (Calcutta)

57. An illuminated, illustrated manuscript copy of the famous epic poem Shahnamah by Abul Qasim Mansur Surnamed Firdausi who was born at Shadab near Tus about A. H. 321, A. D. 923 and died in A. H. 411, A. D. 1020.

This copy was transcribed in Kashmir in A. H. 1245, A. D. 1830.

From Mr Mesrovb J. Seth, M.R.A.S.

58. A complete copy of the "AZDARAR" (the Intelligencer), the first Armenian Journal in the world that was printed at Madras from 1794-1796: It was edited, printed and published by Rev. Arathoon

From Mr Mesrovb J. Seth, M.R.A.S.—*contd.*

Shamavon, the Vicar of the Armenian Church at Madras, from 1784-1824. It was a monthly magazine and contained matters of historical, social and literary interest. As the subscribers were mostly merchants, shipping intelligence was also published in the "Azdarar." There is at page 254 a copy of the Farman of the Nawab of Carnatic (Walajah) granting permission to the Publisher of the "Azdarar" (Rev. Arathoon Shamavon of Shiraz) پادري اراتون ابن شمعون از دارالعلم شيراز to publish books in Persian and Arabic too. There are in all three complete copies of this Journal in the world, one is in Armenia, the other at Cairo, & the third is this copy from the private library of the exhibitor.

59. A book of historical Miscellany, in Armenian, printed at Madras in 1772. This is the *first* book printed in India where Armenian printing presses produced many important works from 1772-1873.

60. This is the life and works of the Armenian Catholic Abraham who was a personal friend of Nadir Shah and blessed his sword when that great warrior assumed the sovereignty of Persia. This is the first Armenian book that was printed in Calcutta in 1796 by Rev. Joseph Stephen, Vicar of the Armenian Church of Calcutta.

61. Deed of Dower of a marriage contracted between one Muhammad Agha Hasan and Khair-un-Nisa of Persia (A. H. 1228). A beautiful specimen of calligraphy.

From the Hon. Maharaja Bahadur of Nadia

62. Sword presented by Lord Clive to Maharajendra Bahadur Krishna Chandra Ray (of Nadia) in recognition of the services rendered by him.

63. Jewelled dagger presented by the Emperor Jahangir to Maharaja Bhabanand Majumdar (of Nadia.)

From Mr P. K. Das, M.A., B.L.

64. Two Palm Leaf Manuscripts in gold letters of Bissuddhi Magga, a book which can very well be termed the Encyclopædia of Buddhist Ethical doctrines. They were secured by the late Rai Sarat Chandra Das, Bahadur, C.I.E., in 1886 from Buddhist Monastery in Siam.

From Mr P. C. Nahar, M.A., B.L.

PAINTINGS.

65. Nauratan (Akbar's Durbar.)

66. Jain Scroll.

From Mr P. C. Nahar, M.A., B.L.—*contd.*

67. Sikh Guru Nanak.
68. Emperor Shah Alam.
69. Jahangir and Nur Jahan.
70. Muhammadan and Hindu saints with Muhammad Ghori.
71. Emperor Tamerlane.
72. Nur Jahan Begam.
73. Muhammad Ghori.

From Mr A. F. M. Abdul Ali, F.R.S.L., M.A.

74. Delhi Durbar 1806.

From Khan Bahadur Mir Mazharuddin

75. Lt.-General Sir Thomas Hislop, Commander-in-Chief of Madras 1823. (Engraving; Brass framed.)

From Mr F. E. Youd

76. An ornamental cover of a book which contained the twelve admonitions of the Emperor Jahangir to his son Parwez A. H. 1018.
77. An ivory miniature of Najmud Daulah, Nawab Nazim of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, 1765-66.
78. An ivory miniature of Saifud Daulah, Nawab Nazim of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, 1766-70.
79. An ivory miniature of Mubarakud Daulah, Nawab Nazim of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, 1770-93.
80. Portrait of a Persian Prince with love songs on the margin. Painted by Raza Abbasi, A. H. 1085.
81. An illuminated, illustrated copy of Bostan-i-Ishq (A book containing a love story) by Pirya Das. It was transcribed in Lucknow by Burhanud Din in A. H. 1222, A. D. 1808.
82. An illuminated, illustrated Persian translation of Mahabharat by Naqib Khan, a pupil of Abul Fazl, one of the ministers of the Emperor Akbar.

From the Punjab University Library, Lahore

ARABIC AND PERSIAN MANUSCRIPTS.

83. *Tarikh-i-Madinah*, by Ibn-i-Najr Makki, the original title of which is Bahjatun-Nufus-i-wal-asrar Fi Tarikh-i-Dari-Mijratul-Mukhtar (F. 4).

From the Punjab University Library, Lahore—*contd.*

The concluding passage shows that it was transcribed in A. H. 436, at Lohar, by Bu Hamid Ibn-i-Ayyub Bukhari. It is written in Naskhi hand. A note in Persian denotes that it was copied for Raja Anangpa..

84. *Mathnavi Rumi*, transcribed at Balkh, in A. H. 812, A. D. 1409, 530 years old. The fact, that it is written in Naskhi character, adds to its importance. More it was copied at Balkh, the native city of the Author.

85. *Wafayat-ul-Ayan*, by Ibn-i-Khallikan. It contains 826 biographies, together with a biography in the beginning and two autographs at the end. It is written in good clear Naskh; was transcribed in A. H. 1012, A. D. 1603. It is full of illuminations; rubrications.

86. *Raudat-ul-Jannat Fi Ausaf-i-Madinatihirat* by Muinud-din Asfazari. It is an history of the city of Herat from its origin to A. H. 875. Not dated.

87. *Chach Namah*, by Muhammad Ali Bin Hamid Kufi. It is a legendary history of the usurpation of Chach and an account of the Arab Conquest of Sindh by Mohammad Kasim. Written in clear Nastalik. Dated the 24th Shawwal, A. H. 1001.

88. *Tarikh-i-Sindh*, by Muhammad Masum. Dated Shaban A. H. 1153.

89. *Tarikh-i-Daudi*, by Abdullah. It is an important History of the Lodhi and Sur Afghan, copied in the 26th year of Aurangzeb's reign.

90. *Badshah Namah in 3 volumes*, by Abdul Hamid Lahori and his pupil Warith, together with Dikri-Ahwal-i-Shah Zadagi-i-Shah Jahan of Mutamad Khan and some extracts from Amal-i-Salih of Muhammad Salih.

91. *Amal-i-Salih*, by Mahommed Salih Kanboh, composed in A. H. 1070. It is an official record of Shah Jahan's reign, written in Shikastah hand.

92. *Imadus-Saadat*, by Ghulam Ali Nakawi in A. H. 1223. It is a history of Burhan-ul-Mulk and his successors in the Government of Oudh, done to A. H. 1223. The present copy is written in Shikasta amez. Dated A. H. 1266.

93. *Tarikh-i-Panjab*, by Ghulam Mohy-ud-Din Buti-Shah. It is the earliest resourceful and detailed history of the Panjab composed in A. H. 1264. It is written on large folio in minute Nastalik.

94. *Kulliyyat-i-Saib*. The present copy is extremely rare, for it was transcribed in A. H. 1085, three years before or after the Author's death.

From the Punjab University Library (Sanskrit Section)

MANUSCRIPTS.

95. Vajasaneyi Samhitta Ms. Dated 1537 V. S. 445 years old. Complete. No. 1231.

From the Punjab University Library (Sanskrit Section)—*contd.*

96. Pingala Marubhasa, a work resembling Prakrita-Pingala. A rare thing. Written in Apabhramsa. Incomplete. No. 532.

97. Santikagranthasamgraha. This work contains a Stotra written in Apabhramsa. Highly important and rare. Complete. No. 490.

98. Lila, a commentary on Kavya Prakasa, by Bhavadeva. Rare Ms. More than two hundred years old. Complete. No. 1262.

99. Chanakyaniti of Bhojraja. Subject Niti. A rare Ms. one more Ms. Known to exist. More than 200 years old. No. 1235.

100. Vaisnava Tosini. A commentary on the 10th book of Bhagavata Purana, by Sanatana Gosvami. A rare and important Ms. Complete. No. 1312.

101. Bhakti-Vijnanamanjari, A religio-Philosophical work by Maharaja of Nurpur (Distt. Kangra). An important work not mentioned in catalogues. This is accompanied by a commentary written during the author's lifetime. No. 1313.

102. Sarika-Sutras of Badarayana with the commentary by Jyarama, the famous logician. This work is not mentioned by Aufrecht. It seems to be of great merit. Complete. Manuscript more than 100 years old. No. 1329.

103. Samkhya-Tattya-Prakasa, a commentary on Samkhya-Karika, by Srinivasa. An unknown work. It was written for a certain king named Isvara Krishna. Complete. No. 1226.

104. Astadhyayi of Panini with the commentary Sabda-Bodhini by Gokulchandra. An unknown work of great importance. Complete. No. 1151.

105. Gita. A handsome Ms. with illustrations of first rate importance. No. 258.

106. Mahabharata, a specimen of good calligraphy. Beautifully illustrated. Complete. No. 375.

107. Bhagavata Purana, a specimen of good calligraphy with beautiful illustrations. Complete. No. 241.

108. Nirukta. An old Ms. on palm leaves. Written in Malayalam Characters. Incomplete. No. 170.

109. Kasyapasamhita. Subject Astronomy. An unknown work. Highly important. No. 1100.

110. Khacaragama, a work on Astronomy. Unknown. Complete. Highly important. No. 616.

111. Paryaya, a commentary on Brahmasutras, by Vaisnavakinkara. An unknown work. Complete. About 200 years old. No. 900.

From the Punjab University Library (Sanskrit Section)—*concld.*

112. Rajavijaya, a work on Astrology. Highly important and rare Ms. No. 1373.
113. Nidrsana, a commentary on Kavya Prakasa. Rare Ms. No. 1358.
114. Pathya. Pathya-Nighanta by Kaiyya Deva. A rare and important Manuscript. Incomplete. No. 601.
115. Ramayana (Valmiki) in Bengali Script. An extremely old Ms. Not dated.

Hindi and Panjabi Manuscripts

116. Vadhu Vinoda, by Kalibasa Trivedi, a famous poet of Hindi. Subject Rhetorics. Only one Ms. is known to exist. Complete. No. 1260.
117. Amara Kosa in Hindi Verses (with Panjabi equivalents) by Khemadass Copra of Wazirabad. An unknown work. Date of Author 1541 V. S. Rare and important No. 1310.
118. Simhasana Battisi by Hirkalasa, a Jaina Author. Written in old Hindi, with Sanskrit verses interposed. Unknown. Complete. No. 1311.
119. Vraja Raja Vinoda, by Kavi Mejh Singh, written in Panjabi Script. Not mentioned in T. R. of N. P. Sabha. This work throws important light on the History of Sikhs and their Gurus. It was composed in 1895 V. S. Complete. No. 1179.
120. Manjaritraya, a Hindi poem on the analogy of Bhartri Hari's Niti Sataka. Author H. H. Savai Pertap Singh of Jaipur. Not mentioned in Catalogues. Complete. No. 1160.
121. Rasa Prabodha, a work on Rhetorics by a Mohammadan poet Ghulam Nabi (1741 A. D.) In Panjabi Script. Rare Manuscript. No. 910.
122. Gita. A rendering in Panjabi by Guru Govind Singh. Highly important. Complete. No. 529.
123. Rasrahasya by Raja Rama Singh of Jaipur. A Hindi translation of Kavya Prakasa. A rare Manuscript.

From the Lalchand Library, D. A. V. College, Lahore

MANUSCRIPTS.

124. Kathaka Grihya Panjika (No. 183).
125. Yajurveda (Text No. 77).
126. Paraskara Grihya Renu Karika (No. 222).
127. Valmikiya Ramayana (Kishkindha Kanda) (No. 3032).
128. Kashika Vivarana Panjika (Nyasa) No. 1048.

From the Lalchand Library, D. A. V. College, Lahore—*contd.*

129. Varaha Grihya Sutra Paddhati.
130. Asvalayana Grihya Sutra by Jayanta Swami No. 38.
131. Charaka Samhita VI. (No. 2314).
132. Charaka Samhita VII. (No. 2315).
133. Kadambari Kavyam (No. 1743).
134. Rigveda Bhasya (No. 2078B).
135. Nirukta Bhasya Vyakhya by Maheswar Skanda (No. 2078*a*).
136. Ramayana Vyakhya by Harita (No. 2034).
137. Astadhyayi.

From Rai Sahib Wazir Chand Trikha of Jhang city

MANUSCRIPTS

138. Shah Namah illustrated and illuminated, large size.
139. Quran illuminated, large size. The letters of the five top lines on each page correspond with the 11th, 10th, 9th, 8th and 7th lines respectively, the letter of the 6th line corresponding with that of the 6th line on the opposite page.
140. Panj Bagh Muhammadi. Written by the author in his own hand-writing. Can be read in 5 different ways.
141. Nigar Namah. Illuminated.
142. Questions of King Nowsherwan and answers by his Wazir. Illuminated.
143. Tuhfat-ul-Muluk. Illuminated.
144. Bostan. Illuminated. Different descriptions of Calligraphy.
145. Quran. 30 leaves of paper, each chapter being on one leaf (2 pages). Illuminated.
146. Khamsa Nizami. Illustrated and illuminated.
147. Bahar-i-Danish. Illustrated and Illuminated.
148. Hitopadesh in Urdu. Illustrated and illuminated.
149. Shah Namah. Illustrated and illuminated. Written in Persian in 872 Hijri.
150. Dalail-ul-Khariat. Illuminated.
151. Shah Puri. Illuminated. Written by the Author in his own hand-writing.
152. Diwan-i-Hafiz. Illustrated and illuminated.
153. Sharah Mulla. In Jami's own hand-writing. Written in 877 Hijri.

From Rai Sahib Wazir Chand Trikha of Jhang city—*contd.*

154. Mukhammas by Ali, on Diwan-i-Hafiz.
155. Euclid in Arabic. 15 books complete.
156. Quran; with the exception of the top-most line; each line on each page commences with the letter *alif*.
157. Sikandar Namah. Illustrated and illuminated.
158. Quran written in Gold.
159. Oriental Music. Illustrated and illuminated.
160. Mirat-ul-Khayal. Illuminated.
161. Zafarnamah. Ranjit Singh.
162. Shaker Pez. Illuminated.
163. Geneological Table from Adam to Muhammad. Illuminated.
164. Book of Precepts (Specimen of thumb nail calligraphy).
165. Specimen of Calligraphy. Dated 1030.
166. Specimen of Calligraphy. Dated 983.
167. Qasida-i-Fath. Address presented to British Government after the battle of Multan.
168. Himail Sharif small size.
169. Himail Sharif smaller size.
170. Sher Singh Namah.

PICTURES.

171. Two sons of Guru Gobind Singh buried in Sirhind Fort.
172. Guru Har Rai.
173. Guru Ram Dass.
174. Guru Gobind Singh.
175. Goddess Ganga (The Ganges).
176. 'Abul-Fazl.
177. On the eve of the battle of Mahabharata.
178. Rana Partab.
179. Shiva with his ardhangini Parvati (in one combined picture).
180. Goddess Durga (Ashtabhuji fighting with an elephant).
181. Vishnu & Lakshmi on Sheshnag.

From the Kapurthala Darbar

Manuscripts

182. Tawarikh-i-Kashmir.

Author: Colonel Mohan Singh.

Contents: A voluminous statistical history of Kashmir prepared in the time of Maharaja Ranjit Singh on the plan of Ain-i-Akbari.

183. Tawarikh-i-Khan Jahani.

Author: Khwaja Nimatullah bin Khwaja Habib Ullah-al-Harawi who completed it in A. H. 1021 (A. D. 1613).

Contents: A history of the Afghans in India written at the request of Khan Jahan Lodi who rebelled against Shahjahan.

184. Sher Singh Nama.

Author: Muhammad Naqi of Peshawar.

Contents: A history of the Punjab after Maharaja Ranjit Singh specially treating of the events which took place in Lahore between A. D. 1839-1843.

185. Khamsa-i-Nizami.

Author: Nizam-ud-Din with the Nom de Plume of Nizami.

Contents: (i) Makhzan-ul-Asrar.
(ii) Khusru-o-Shirin.
(iii) Laila-o-Majnun.
(iv) Haft Paikar.
(v) Sikandar Namah.

186. Diwan Shuara Hasht.

Author: Khwaja Farid-ud-Din Attar.

Contents: Collection of Lyrical poems of Jalal-ud-Din Rumi.

187. Ishqiyya Khusraw.

Author: Amir Khusraw.

Contents: Love episode of Khizr Khan, son of Sultan 'Ala-ud-Din Mohammad Shah Khilji with Deval Devi, the daughter of Raja Karan of Gujrat.

188. Diwan-i-Khan Hasan Dehlawi.

Author: Amir Najmud Din Hasan Sanjari of Delhi.

Contents: Qasidas and Ghazals.

From the Kapurthala Darbar—*contd.*

189. Diwan-i-Marvi.

 Author: Khwaja Husain of Marv.

 Contents: Poems of Marvi.

190. Riyazul Insha Jami.

 Author: Khwaja Jahan Imamud Din Mahmud bin Sheikh Muhammad Gilani.

 Contents: A collection of documents & letters written to various dignitaries in official capacity.

191. Mahabharat.

 Authors: Abdul Qadir, Badayuni, Naqib Khan, Muhammad Sultan Thanesari.

 Contents: Persian Translation of Mahabharat made by the order of Akbar under the auspices of Abul Fazl.

From Mr Kanwar Sain, Chief Justice, Jammu and Kashmir State

192. Makhrutat-i-Shamsi, being a treatise in Persian on Geometrical conic Sections by my maternal great-grandfather Dewan Kahan Ji Sahib 1233 Hijri.
193. Mujarribat Hakim Jilani, being a treatise on Medicine and with it is bound another treatise known as *Dastur Pukhtan Taam* which gives the preparation of various Indian dishes.
194. Nafhat-ul-uns, being a treatise on the biographies of celebrated Muhammedan saints by Maulana Jami.
195. Zamurrad, being a treatise on Medicine by Hakim Muhammad Shah Nawaz Khan(?)
196. Dastan Bahar Danish.
197. Ramayan Manzum in Persian, presumably the work of Shah Sharaf Bu Ali Qalandar in the handwriting of my worthy grandfather Munshi Gauri Shankar Sahib.
198. Akhlaq Nasri annotated in the handwriting of Mufti Husain Bakhsh at the request of my worthy father Rai Bhim Sain Sahib in 1860 with it is bound another book entitled Bazm-i-Rahat in the handwriting of my grandfather in 1861.
199. Masnavi Gulzar Nasim written in 1847.
200. Masnavi by Hafiz.

From Muhammad Abdullah Chughtai, Chobuk Sarawan, Lahore

201. Adab-i-Alamgiri. Historical records of Aurangzeb before accession by his Munshi, Qabul Khan.

202. Muhazzab-ul-Asma. Dictionary from Arabic into Persian; written by Mohammad Wahid of Najibabad in 1219 A. H.

Each letter bears four sub-heads with Fatah, Zamma, Kasra, etc., which tells the correct pronunciation of each work specially their beginning.

From R. B. Diwan Kishan Kishore

MANUSCRIPT

203. Bhagwat in Persian. Illustrated and Illuminated.

204. 25 Paintings. Illustrated and Illuminated.

From Mr Muhammad Saleem, M.A., Lahore

MANUSCRIPTS, PAINTINGS SPECIMENS OF CALLIGRAPHY AND RARE COINS.

205. Fatuhat Meccia. From the collection of Maulana Abdul Jalil of Bilgram.

206. Specimen of thumb nail calligraphy.

207. Avicenna's Shifa written in 669 A. H.

208. Sikandar Nama written in 986 A. H.

209. Laila Mujnun: 18 Coloured Paintings.

210. Life of the Prophet.

211. Bahar-ul-Anwari: by Baqar.

212. Tazkaratul-Awaliya by Attar.

213. Tafsir in Persian by Kashfi.

214. Dalailul Khairat: With a richly decorated map of Kaaba inside.

215. A dictionary in Verse: Arabic words into Persian verses—in Author's own handwriting—Ahsan Ullah of Lahore.

216. Musnavi by Hilali.

217. Diwan of Nasir Ali. Written in Shah Alam's reign.

218. Diwan of Abu Talib Kalin: written under the patronage of Abul Feteh Gilani.

219. Hadika of Sanai.

220. Omar Khayam: Written by Faraj Ullah, Bagdad in 878 A. H. (Unique as regards the number of Quatrains—145 only).

From Mr Muhammad Saleem, M.A., Lahore—*contd.*

221. Book: Love and beauty.
222. The Prophet's life.
223. 40 Traditions.
224. Sahifa of the Shias.
225. Original copy of letter of Governor-General's Agent to the Maharaja, dated 1844, Ferozepore.
226. Sixteen Specimens of Calligraphy: Golden Rubrics and sprinkled in gold from the hand of Abdur Rashid Ali ul Qatab, etc.
227. A specimen of Calligraphy as a study in Shade in Khat-i-Shua.
228. Specimen of Calligraphy.
229. Old Paintings 9 in number coloured, etc.
230. A pair of Gold sprinkled persian, communications.
231. Coins: Roman and Greek (Before Christ's birth) and Muslim .
232. Six stone inscribed impressions. (various sizes).
233. Gulshin-i-Mahmud: Selection from the poems of Qachar Princes with their lives.

From Shahzada Ahmad Ali Durrani, Munshi Fazil, Lahore

MANUSCRIPTS, OLD PAINTINGS AND COINS.

234. *Al-Quran* with coloured lines and Golden rubrics in the first two pages, middle and end. Gold painted cover.
235. *Al-Quran* gold cornered lines with persian translation and original papers on which the various Durrani vizirs took oath in writing for Ayub Shah's loyalty (1238 A. H.).
236. Jawad Khan's anthology. Written by himself in 1184 A. H.
237. A copy of Hafiz with coloured paintings written in 1262. A. H. by Mustafa. First two pages in Gold.
238. Recognition in writing of a Durrani prince's excellence and greatness.
239. A belt of Prince Ali Ahmad, son of Ayub Shah, the Kabul King, given by Abu Zafar, Delhi Emperor with an Urdu Verse.

From Mr Prannath Datta, M.A., Kunjah, District Gujrat (Government Intermediate College), Lyallpur

240. A piece of Jewelry.

This valuable piece of jewelry is supposed to have been made under the direction of a very able and learned pandit, namely Thakur Lakshmi

From Mr Prannath Datta, M.A., Kunjah, District Gujrat (Government Intermediate College) Lyallpur—*contd.*

Narain, who was recognised by Dewan Mohkam Chand as his religious preceptor.

It must have taken a very long time to be made as each of the principal jewels was set at different times according as each of the planets that it represents appeared at its Zenith in the Zodiac (The Saturn comes in this position after 30 years, the Jupiter after 12, and Rahu and Ketu after 18 years each).

The idea underlying it was to procure to its wearer the very best influence of all the Navagrah (the nine principal stars whose propitiation is considered essential by orthodox people because they shape the destinies of the world). Dewan Mohkam Chand of Kunjah, District, Gujrat, the veteran General of Ranjit Singh's forces in the early part of his reign wore it on his arm, and all his good luck and military glory are attributed to the virtues possessed by this grand assortment of jewels.

The hollow back of this ornament contains all the eighteen chapters of the *Bhagwad Gita* written separately in a superb manner on a thin yet very durable paper, which in itself is a remarkable piece of art.

The tradition is that this ornament was also used for a time by Maharaja Ranjit Singh, who, as we know, always took a fancy to such things. It was returned to the great Dewan whose grandson, Dewan Kirpa Ram, gave it back in turn to his *Guru* towards the close of his career as he had no heirs.

It is at present in the possession of the exhibitor a descendant of the great Guru.

From Mr J. J. Cotton, M.A., I.C.S.

PORTRAIT.

241. Der General, Allard, Oberbefchlshaber des Heeres de Konigs von Lahore.

From Major H. L. O. Garrett, M.A., I.E.S., Keeper of the Records of the Govt of the Punjab, Lahore

ENGRAVING.

242. Darbar of Maharaja Ranjit Singh.

PEN AND INK PICTURES.

243. Maharaja Ranjit Singh. Facing the Maharaja are Court, Allard, Ventura, Sultan Mahomed & Foulkes.

From Major H. L. O. Garrett, M.A., I.E.S., Keeper of the Records of the Govt. of the Punjab, Lahore—concld.

244. Akali Ghorchar.
245. Ghoorka Sepoy.
246. Akalis.
247. Maharaja Ranjit Singh on Horseback.
248. Naib or Musalman Sepoy.
249. Sikh Ghorchar.
250. Raja Suchet Singh.
251. Colonel Alexander Gardener at the age of 79.

MGIPC—L—X-8.12—8.11.26—251.